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FROM

The Society

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

EDWARD E. HALE.
NATHANIEL PAINE.

CHARLES A. CHASE.
CHARLES C. SMITH.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
American Antiquarian Society

NEW SERIES, VOL. XVII.

APRIL 1905—APRIL 1906.



WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1907.

U.S. 27,510
~~15392.15~~

THE DAVIS PRESS
WORCESTER, MASS.

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N O T E .

The seventeenth volume of the present series contains the records of the Proceedings of the Society from April 26, 1905 to April 25, 1906 inclusive.

The reports of the Council have been prepared by Samuel Utley, Carroll D. Wright and Nathaniel Paine.

Papers and communications have been received from Andrew McF. Davis, Daniel Merriman, Victor H. Paltsits, Samuel Utley, Carroll D. Wright, David Casares, William MacDonald, Edward H. Thompson, Edward G. Bourne, William E. Foster, and Nathaniel Paine.

Obituary notices of the following deceased members appear in this volume: Herbert B. Adams, Horatio Rogers, Sir John George Bourinot, Douglas Brymner, Frank P. Goulding, Charles K. Adams, Henry Hitchcock, Stephen Salisbury, George F. Hoar, Louis A. Huguet-Latour, James H. Salisbury, Señor Joaquin Hübbecke, James D. Butler and Samuel P. Langley.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

ERRATA.

Page 15, line 28, for *1824* read *1836*.
Page 16, line 33, for *Puritans* read *Providence*.
Page 26, line 31, for *Daniells's* read *Daniels's*.
Page 73, line 5, for *Thomas* read *Henry*.
Page 134, lines 18, 20, 22-24, 27, for *Roundlay* read *Rounseley*.
Page 135, lines 6, 7, for *Law Association of the United States* read *American Bar Association*.
Page 136, line 20, insert *William* before *Henry*.
Page 156, line 29, for *Walcott* read *Wolcott*.
Page 191, line 42, for *Vinogradoff* read *Vinogradoff*.
Page 194, line 40, or *Hamilton, P.* *Walter* read *Hamilton, F. Walter*.
Page 243, line 29, for *Chid* read *Chi*.
Page 244, line 34, for *May* read *Ay*.
Page 246, line 24, for *Pintus*, read *Pintus*.
Page 257 line 2n for *days* read *years*.
Page 312, line 4n omit *The late*.
Cover to Part 3 for *Annual Meeting held in Worcester* read *Semi-Annual Meeting held in Boston*.

PROCEEDINGS

American Antiquarian Soc

AT THE

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON

APRIL 26, 1906.



AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY
THE HISTORIC PAPER

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The Society

PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 26, 1905, AT THE HALL OF
THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN BOSTON.

THE meeting was called to order by the President, the
Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

The following members were present:—

Edward E. Hale, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Edward L. Davis, James F. Hunnewell, Edward H. Hall, Albert H. Hoyt, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Andrew McF. Davis, Solomon Lincoln, Daniel Merriman, Reuben Colton, Henry H. Edes, George E. Francis, J. Phinney Baxter, G. Stanley Hall, Charles P. Greenough, Francis H. Dewey, Carroll D. Wright, William T. Forbes, George H. Haynes, Charles L. Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, Edward S. Morse, John Noble, Austin S. Garver, A. Lawrence Rotch, Samuel Utley, E. Harlow Russell, Benjamin T. Hill, Edmund A. Engler, Alexander F. Chamberlain, William MacDonald, Roger B. Merriman, Victor H. Paltsits, Daniel B. Updike.

The report of the Council was presented by Judge SAMUEL UTLEY and ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A.M., of Cambridge. The latter read a paper, entitled, "Emergent Treasury-Supply in Massachusetts in Early Days."

Judge WILLIAM T. FORBES of Worcester said, that in the records at the Registry of Deeds in Worcester, he

found that Mr. Davis's ancestor, the first Isaac Davis in Worcester County, bought some real estate, the old Davis homestead, the consideration for which was so many ounces of plated silver. Judge Forbes enquired whether that signified silver bullion, silver plate or plated silver. Mr. Davis thought there was no question that silver bullion was meant.

G. STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester, read a biography of his "former colleague, and very near neighbor and friend," Herbert Baxter Adams, LL.D., of Baltimore, Md.

The Recording Secretary reported that the Council recommended for election Deloraine P. Corey of Malden, Mass., as a resident member, and Dr. Emile Levasseur of Paris, as a foreign member. Both gentlemen, on formal ballot, were declared elected members of the Society.

In presenting a paper, "A Scheme for the Conquest of Canada in 1746," VICTOR H. PALTSITS of New York said: "I bring also the greetings of our associate, Wilberforce Eames, of New York, who was unable to be here, but wished me to extend his greetings to you. The subject of my paper is, 'A scheme for the conquest of Canada in 1746.' The allusions to it which are in print are quite inaccurate. I might say this study has its origin from an examination of the books and journals of the various legislative bodies, and extracts from the Public Record Office of London, and from official or semi-official contemporaneous publications of the time."

The Society next listened to a paper on, "Jeremy Taylor and Religious Liberty in the English Church," by Rev. DANIEL MERRIMAN, D.D., of Worcester. In presenting his paper, Dr. Merriman said: "It is perhaps proper to say that this paper was prepared at the earnest solicitation of our distinguished and beloved associate, the late Senator

Hoar. Mr. Hoar was himself a Puritan of Puritans, and as you all know, extremely jealous of their honor; his enthusiastic love of good learning, and fondness of poetry, and the literary and antiquarian charm connected with the established church led him to be insensibly intimate with the great worthies of the church, and also desirous of doing them entire justice. He desired very much himself to present to this Society a paper on 'Jeremy Taylor and religious liberty in the English Church,' and that is the topic of the paper I am about to read."

Dr. G. STANLEY HALL: "There is one work of Jeremy Taylor to which my attention was called many years ago, in a rather singular way. I was studying at Baltimore what might be called the 'psychology of conscience,' and I was talking with the Bishop of Baltimore, and he said: 'If you want to see the most monumental work on conscience, if you want to see the work that has in it all the sugared-off results of the experiences of the Catholic confessional plus all those questions that arise in cases of Protestant scrupulosity, read Dr. Taylor's "Ductor Dubitantum."' I got it many years ago, and made a very careful study of it, and it seems to me it is a work of very great significance. So I rise merely to ask the essayist whether in his very interesting paper he will not modify the statement which was in effect that this work had little significance and attracted small attention. If I remember aright, it was this work on which he bestowed more labor than on any other, keeping it by him many years. At a recent alienist conference, the statement was made that in this work alone we have one of the most acute studies of casuistry and ultra-scrupulosity ever made. Thus in the field of ethical aberrations this great work is of monumental value. A brilliant French alienist said in substance last summer that he had heard that a Boston physician had invented the phrase 'New England

conscience,' but that the thing itself dated back to the 'Ductor Dubitantium.' Every problem concerning the rectitude of this, that, or the other opinion on settled and controverted points, as well as on those of practical life and worship,—all these are discussed. It has been a great question to me—and I asked the Catholic Bishop about it, and he could throw no light on it—how it could be that a man of that type, living in that age, could seem to have got all the sugared-off results of the Catholic confessional boiled down into such a systematic treatise as is there given. I think that this proposition of our French visitor last summer, indicates that whatever may be its faults, it is going to have a great historic significance. Senator Hoar was acquainted with this work, but I do not think even he appreciated its immense historical and, I might say for the psychologist, its profound scientific value."

Dr. MERRIMAN: "I am extremely glad that Dr. Hall has called attention to this work, and in reply to him let me say at once that if I were a professor of psychology I should probably be interested in the 'Ductor Dubitantium.' A distinguished professor of church history has lately said: 'This is to me perhaps the most interesting book that Taylor wrote, and if I were to have a long imprisonment, next to the Bible, I should wish to take it to my cell.' A man who has given attention professionally to the history of conscience, or to the study of the human mind, as Dr. Hall has, would be greatly interested in this book. It is one of the most significant evidences of the extraordinary minuteness and extent of Taylor's learning. But compared with his 'Life of Christ,' for example, it must be regarded as a highly technical and out of date treatise. This book was conceived very early in Taylor's career, and he had it on hand all his life. It was not printed until six or seven years before his death. While

the subject matter has long ceased to be of interest to the mass of people—so different is the twentieth from the seventeenth century—yet to the philosopher, psychologist or historian, it is of undoubted value.”

Vice-President EDWARD E. HALE said: “I want to thank the authors of the three papers we have heard, which I consider not only the most interesting, but perhaps the most important papers we have had at our meeting. Every one of them deserves a vote of thanks.

“I happened to be intimately connected with the history of the French Fleet, which was alluded to in the paper by Mr. Paltsits, and it is a matter of surprise to me how it could have been so nearly left out of American literature, being of great importance in the development of the republic. What brought me into connection with it was something of local interest, the preservation of the Old South Meeting-house. When the great fire took place and swept away the most of commercial Boston, our friends at the Old South Meeting-house had a valuable piece of property, and they sold it for \$400,000, and that \$400,000 had to be raised some way, and we were all very enthusiastic in our wishes to preserve the old meeting-house. I met Henry Longfellow in the street one day, and I said, ‘Longfellow, you have got to help in preserving the Meeting-house.’ He said, ‘All right; how much do you want?’ I said, ‘How much? I want you to write us a poem.’ He was very good-natured about it, and said, ‘If the spirit moves, I will write the poem.’ I was not quite satisfied with that. I said, ‘The spirit must move, it has got to move, and I hope it will move,’ and we parted. That week Longfellow wrote his ballad on the French Fleet, and, according to me, it is the best American ballad written. It is ascribed to Thomas Prince, the minister of the Old South. Longfellow has made a magnificent ballad out of it. I think I see gentlemen here old enough to have

heard traditions,—how Prince was praying in the pulpit when the tempest swept over the town, and shook the tower, and for our purposes destroyed the Fleet.

But curiously enough, that event is almost omitted from the histories of New England. But a page or two is given to it in most histories, and I think this is the reason: Shirley was Governor here; and by the way, some of the young men who want to devote their time to some good work, should write the life of Shirley, which has never been written; one of the greatest men we have had. Shirley knew that the French King was going to revenge himself; so Shirley got his Council together, and sunk this vessel and that vessel in the harbor, and he proclaimed a Fast Day, and it was on that Fast Day that Prince was making this prayer in the Old South Meeting-house. But you may look through the Boston newspapers of that summer, and week after week, the papers published nothing about the French Fleet. Not an allusion to the fact that the army of the State was in Boston; not an allusion to the fact that the Council was in session, and I think that the historians of America read carefully through the newspapers of the time, and did not find anything about the French Fleet. What would have happened if anything had been printed about it, would have been that Shirley would have sent down to the newspaper office, and have thrown out the window every man who had anything to do with the publication of such a thing. There was nothing in the papers because they had a Governor who understood what war meant. The only reference to it is on the occasion of the death of Lady Shirley,—that “the body was accompanied by the train bands of the Province to her grave.” That poor girl of twenty years accompanied by the train bands of the Province who were encamped on Boston Common! Why was the largest army that ever assembled in Boston, on Boston Common at that time? Why was it they accompanied this lady to her grave?

"Shirley did not mean that any notice of any preparation that he was making should get outside. This, you will say, is an old man's story; perhaps it is, but I throw it out as a hint. I was very much interested about this ballad of Longfellow's. I went up to the State library; I knew all the gentlemen there; I said, 'I want the Council Records of 1746.' They said, 'You are forgetting that we have not got the Council Records of 1746 here; the Council Records have never been in this room, but if you will come downstairs, I will give them to you.' We went downstairs to the Secretary of State's desk, and he opened this drawer and that drawer, and took out the Council Records of 1746. I said, 'Why are those things here?' He said, 'God knows, I suppose; I don't; ever since I have been Secretary of State, the Council Records of 1746 have been in this drawer, and they are here now.' I think those Council Records of 1746 were kept in some such private drawer, and had been until they were gotten out by me in 1891."

A BALLAD OF THE FRENCH FLEET.

I.

A **FLEET** with flags arrayed
Sailed from the port of Brest,
And the Admiral's ship displayed
The signal: "Steer south-west."
For this Admiral d'Anville
Had sworn by cross and crown
To ravage with fire and steel
Our helpless Boston Town.

II.

There were rumors in the street,
In the houses there was fear
Of the coming of the fleet,
And the danger hovering near;
And while from mouth to mouth
Spread the tidings of dismay,
I stood in the Old South,
Saying humbly: "Let us pray."

III.

“O Lord! we would not advise;
 But if, in thy providence,
 A tempest should arise
 To drive the French fleet hence,
 And scatter it far and wide,
 Or sink it in the sea,
 We should be satisfied,
 And thine the glory be.”

IV.

This was the prayer I made,
 For my soul was all on flame;
 And even as I prayed
 The answering tempest came.
 It came with a mighty power,
 Shaking the windows and walls,
 And tolling the bell in the tower
 As it tolls at funerals.

V.

The lightning suddenly
 Unsheathed its flaming sword,
 And I cried: “Stand still and see
 The salvation of the Lord!”
 The heavens were black with cloud,
 The sea was white with hail,
 And ever more fierce and loud
 Blew the October gale.

VI.

The fleet it overtook,
 And the broad sails in the van
 Like the tents of Cushan shook,
 Or the curtains of Midian.
 Down on the reeling decks
 Crashed the o’erwhelming seas;
 Ah, never were there wrecks
 So pitiful as these!

VII.

Like a potter’s vessel broke
 The great ships of the line;
 They were carried away as a smoke,
 Or sank like lead in the brine.
 O Lord! before thy path
 They vanished and ceased to be,
 When thou didst walk in wrath
 With thine horses through the sea.

"An Ancient Instance of Municipal Ownership" was the title of a paper read to the Society by Hon. SAMUEL UTLEY, of Worcester, relating to an old quarry from which the inhabitants of Worcester have a perpetual right to take stone.

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN: "The Courts seem to have decided that the people of Worcester have a right to take stone from that quarry, but I noticed that the late Andrew H. Green, whose land surrounded the quarry, and who claimed that he owned it, still felt that he had grounds for contention. Do you know what they were?"

Mr. UTLEY: "I do not. I have known of his threatening, but I never knew of his bringing it to a conclusion. I rather thought it was more of a 'bluff game' than otherwise. I have talked with his lawyer, but of course counsel only tell what is known to have been done. Mr. Green long ago consulted Mr. Peter C. Bacon and Senator Hoar, but as no action likely to bring on a trial on the merits has at any time been taken, it is perhaps fair to assume that counsel have not found sufficient grounds to advise such a course. The statutes of Massachusetts allow a man to prevent the acquisition of title by twenty years' use, by posting notices, and Mr. Green did this. I have an idea that it was a nuisance to him to have the quarry there. They blast very recklessly and throw rocks over the adjoining premises, and probably any neighbor would be glad to get rid of it, but I have not been able to find that there is any ground for changing the legal conditions, as I have stated them."

Mr. HENRY H. EDES said: "At our semi-annual meeting in 1900, our associate Mr. Samuel Swett Green read an interesting paper on the Craigie House. Toward the end of it he inserted in a footnote an extract from a paper read by Miss Alice M. Longfellow to the Cantabrigia Club,

in which she erroneously calls Dr. Andrew Craigie's bride 'Miss *Nancy* Shaw.' Mrs. Craigie was *Elizabeth* Shaw, only child of the Rev. Bezaliel Shaw (H. C. 1762), of Nantucket, and cousin-german to Chief-Justice Lemuel Shaw. I call attention to Miss Longfellow's error in order that our Publications may contain an accurate statement of Mrs. Craigie's baptismal name.¹

It was voted that the papers of the day be referred to the Committee of Publication. The meeting was then dissolved, most of the members repairing to the Hotel Somerset for lunch.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.

¹ In Volume VII. of the Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, in the Transactions at the stated meeting in April, 1902, will be found some reminiscences of Dr. Andrew Craigie of Cambridge, written by the late Mr. John Holmes (H. C. 1832). In the editorial notes appended to these reminiscences are many interesting facts concerning Dr. and Mrs. Craigie.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council are glad to report that with one exception our ranks are unbroken by death.

By vote of the Council the Treasurer, in consultation with the President, has been authorized to procure book-plates (with engraved portraits) of Isaiah Thomas, our founder and first president, and of our fifth president, the late Stephen Salisbury, and this is being done.

Mr. Nathaniel Paine has completed the Contents of the Society's Proceedings 1880-1903, which was recently announced, and it is in print ready for distribution. This has involved much labor and will be highly appreciated by all interested in that period.

Our associate Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis has presented to the Society about three hundred and fifty copies of his book, "The Confiscation of John Chandler's Estate," and about the same number of his work, "Tracts Relating to the Currency, 1681-1720." The former of these publications contains a review of the law relating to the confiscation of the estates of loyalists, and furnishes through copies of the papers in the Proceedings an object lesson for lawyers. The latter contains reprints of the pamphlet literature of the period on the Currency question. There is room enough on the shelves of the libraries of the country for all of these books, although it may take several years for them to find their ultimate destination.

Dr. G. Stanley Hall has prepared a memoir of the late Prof. H. B. Adams, and Dr. Jameson has prepared memoirs of the late Sir John G. Bourinot and Dr. Douglas Brymner.

Memoirs of Frank P. Goulding and of Judge Horatio Rogers have been prepared by the biographer.

Herbert Baxter Adams was born in Shutesbury, Massachusetts, April 16, 1850. He was the third son of his parents, who were both of Puritan lineage, which they traced in this country back to the second quarter of the seventeenth century. When his father died in 1856, the family moved to Amherst, from where, after a preliminary year at Phillips Exeter Academy, Herbert graduated in 1872, as valedictorian of his class. No history, he tells us, was then taught at Amherst after the freshman year. During the latter part of his course he became much absorbed in his duties as editor of "The Amherst Student," and planned a journalistic career until a lecture by President Seelye, reviewing the course of civilization and urging that history was "the grandest study in the world," to quote from Adams's note-book, caused him to resolve to devote himself to it. So, after teaching a year at Williston Seminary, Easthampton, as the successor of Dr. Charles N. Parkhurst, he went to Europe in the summer of 1873, settling finally in Germany and attending courses by Treitschke on politics, Ernst Curtius on Greek archaeology, Hermann Grimm on early Christian art, Lepsius on Egyptology, Droysen on the French Revolution, Knies on economics, and others. He was most influenced, however, by Bluntschli, who called him his favorite student, and he finally took his degree *summa cum laude* at Heidelberg, July 14, 1876.

Before his return he had been appointed fellow in history at the Johns Hopkins University, which opened that year. Here Dr. Austin Scott, Yale 1869, Bancroft's coadjutor in the revised edition of his "History of the United States," came on from Washington twice a week as head of the department to conduct an historical seminary. Here Adams prepared his first printed monograph entitled "Maryland's Influence in Founding a National Commonwealth." He also conducted a class of two members twice a week, and another of one once a week. In 1878, he accepted an invitation to become spring lecturer to the first three classes in Smith College. Meanwhile he was gradually promoted at Baltimore, and when Edward

A. Freeman visited America in 1881, he spoke with warm praise of Adams's department as a young and growing school, devoting itself to the special study of local institutions, as did James Bryce later. Re-enforced by their advice Adams conducted a sharp newspaper campaign, as a result of which the Legislature authorized the transfer of valuable colonial papers from the state archives at Annapolis to Baltimore, and their publication was begun at the state expense. In December, 1882, the valuable historic library of Bluntschli was presented by the German citizens of Baltimore to the University, and the department was then fitly installed in quarters of its own with Adams at its head. In 1884, he united with Justin Winsor, Andrew D. White, Charles K. Adams, and others in organizing the American Historical Association, of which he at once became, and remained until his death, the secretary. His associates have repeatedly testified that the initiative and early direction of the society was mainly his. In 1893, he published in two large octavo volumes the life and writings of Jared Sparks. "Sparks," says J. M. Vincent, "never threw away a letter, even if it was simply an invitation to a dinner." As his colleague during these years, I well remember the vast collection of files and cases which for years Adams spent his spare time in sifting. Dr. George E. Ellis said of this work in substance that it would have won from Sparks himself the warmest approval for ability, fidelity and good taste, and that this he considers the highest encomium for work of this kind.

As early as 1882, Adams began the "Johns Hopkins Studies in History and Political Science," and these now represent a library of forty volumes. It was for this work that he deserves to be called in some sense the founder of a new American school of history. Nearly every graduate who entered his department, and sometimes even undergraduates, if they showed capacity, were encouraged to begin at once to prepare themselves to write the history of whatever was of greatest value and interest within the field of their own knowledge and experience. Thus monographs multiplied upon the history of various states and territories, counties, cities, school systems, universities, history of industries, finance, taxation, charity, co-operation, the Chinese in California, the Swedes in New York, the Dutch in Pennsylvania. His Japanese students wrote

of historical themes pertaining to their own country, and thus a great number of themes more or less local, perhaps involving summer excursions, the perusal of archives, etc., indispensable to the future historian, are to be found in this series.

In 1887, he began to edit for the United States Bureau of Education a series of contributions to American educational history, beginning with a volume on the College of William and Mary, where existed the first school of history, politics and economics in this country. This led Adams to his plan for founding in Washington a civil academy, which should be in matters of political science and civil service training what West Point and Annapolis are for military and naval education. In this series he also wrote the comprehensive memoir on "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia," and on the "Study of History in American Colleges and Universities." Twenty-nine other educational monographs appeared. During his later years his interest more and more inclined in this direction, for he held that for a democracy education was the first of all duties.

Prominent among his methods was that of very comprehensive collections of clippings from the contemporary press likely to be of service to his own pupils or to the future historian. This work employed during his latter years the entire time of one or more assistants, so that his rooms became a source of supply and reference for those interested in any lines of historical inquiry which were to be continued to the present moment. Few have known so well how to use contemporary interests as incentives to historical research.

Shortly before his death he undertook to collect the titles of all books and articles written by those connected with his department, during the twenty-five years of his administration of it. These are published in a memorial volume from the Johns Hopkins Press in 1902,¹ and this bibliography alone comprises one hundred and sixty pages by one hundred and seventy men, eighty-two of whom became instructors or professors of history in various academic institutions. Among those in more or less pupillary relations to Herbert

¹ Herbert B. Adams. "Tributes of Friends. With a bibliography of the department of History, Politics and Economics of the Johns Hopkins University, 1876-1901." Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1902. pp. 67, 160.

Adams we may name Professor C. N. Carver, Davis R. Dewey of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, H. B. Gardner of Brown, C. H. Haskins of Wisconsin, G. H. Haynes of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, J. A. James of the Northwestern, J. F. Jameson of Chicago, Professors Mitsukuri and Nitobe of Japan, E. A. Ross once of Stanford, Albert Shaw, Professor A. W. Small of Chicago, Woodrow Wilson, and others.

Adams was an indefatigable worker, a hearty eater, took little exercise, was stricken down in 1899, with arterial sclerosis, and died at Amherst July 30, 1901, in the fulness of his power, a victim of overwork and insufficient attention to body-keeping. He was unmarried and bequeathed his library and practically all that he possessed to the University he had so faithfully served for twenty-five years. Others have excelled him in scholarship, produced works that are more monumental, perhaps had greater historic ability. But probably no teacher of history this country has produced has rendered so much personal service to so many young scholars, been more beloved by them all, or has inspired the writing of so much local history, much of which has been rescued from oblivion, and still more, material hitherto stored up in archives and local records has been made generally accessible.

G. S. H.

Horatio Rogers died in Providence, Rhode Island, November 12th, 1904, having been born in that city May 18th, 1824, where he resided all his life.

He graduated at Brown University in 1855, attended Harvard Law School in 1856-1857, was admitted to the bar in 1858, and practised in Providence till 1873, having meantime served with distinction in the Civil war, in which he attained the rank of Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General. On account of ill health he resigned in January, 1864, receiving high praises for his services from General Franklin, and a vote of thanks from the Rhode Island Assembly.

Resuming the practice of his profession he became Attorney General of the state and was also a member of the city council of Providence and of the Rhode Island Assembly.

From 1873 to 1891 he engaged in cotton manufactures.

On May 27th, 1891, he became Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island and held that office till 1903, when he resigned it.

In a brief tribute to him at his death Judge Tillinghast said, "as a judge he fully exemplified those qualities which are the prime essentials in one who occupied this exalted position."

A "man of large views, of ardent patriotism, of high ideas, of liberal culture, he naturally took a high rank as a moulder of public thought and a leader of men."

Several of his addresses have been published, among them one on the private libraries of Providence, one at the unveiling of the statue of General Burnside, one at the laying of the corner-stone of the new city hall and one on Mary Dyer of Rhode Island, the Quaker martyr, besides many contributions to periodicals; and much of the work of the Record Commission of Providence was under his supervision as chairman.

In 1884 he published the *Journal of Lieutenant James M. Hadden of Burgoyne's Army*, which attracted wide attention, on account of biographical and personal notes, which the *New York Nation* said made Burgoyne's officers as well known to us as those of the patriot army.

For many years a member of the Rhode Island Historical Society, he was its president, 1889-1895.

He became a member of this Society in 1882.

Brief notices of him may be found in Lamb's "Biographical Dictionary of the United States," Appleton's "Cyclopedia of American Biography," "The Historical Catalogue of Brown University," "The Providence Journal" November 13th, 1904, p. 17, line 1.

A fine tribute to him is in the preface to the "Early Records of Puritans," volume 18, page vii.

S. U.

Sir John George Bourinot, who was elected a foreign member of the Society in April, 1893, died in Ottawa, Canada, on October 13, 1902. He was born in Sydney, Cape Breton, on October 24, 1837. His father, Lieutenant-Colonel John Bourinot, vice-consul for France, was for several years a member for Cape Breton in the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, and from the time of Canadian Confederation until his death a Senator of the Dominion

of Canada. Senator Bourinot came of a Huguenot family from Normandy, which had settled in Jersey. His wife was Jane Marshall, daughter of Justice Marshall of Nova Scotia, and granddaughter of a captain in the British army, of Irish descent. John George Bourinot was educated by the Rev. W. Y. Porter at Sydney, and at the University of Trinity College at Toronto. He then turned to journalism, and became a parliamentary reporter and editor. In 1860, he established the *Halifax Reporter*, and was for some years its chief editor. From 1861 to 1867, he was the chief official reporter of the Assembly of Nova Scotia. The confederation of Canada then taking place, he, in 1868, became shorthand writer to the Senate, thenceforward till his death residing in Ottawa. In 1873, he became second assistant clerk of the House of Commons, and in 1879 first assistant. From December 18, 1880, till the close of his life he was chief clerk of that important legislative body. His chief work, an elaborate and standard treatise entitled, *The Practice and Procedure of Parliament, with a Review of the Origin and Growth of Parliamentary Institutions in the Dominion of Canada*, which first appeared in 1884, was the direct outgrowth of his highly efficient service in that responsible office. In 1882, when the Royal Society of Canada was founded, he was made its honorary secretary, and retained that office until his death, except that in 1891, he was made vice-president for one year, in 1892, president. To his energy, address and organizing capacity the Royal Society and the nineteen large volumes of its *Transactions* were greatly indebted.

Sir John Bourinot took an active interest in public affairs, especially as a champion of Imperial Federation. For many years he was honorary corresponding secretary at Ottawa of the Royal Colonial Institute. From 1889 to 1894, he was a member of the Executive Council of the American Historical Association, to whose *Papers*, Volume V., he contributed an historical review of the relations between Canada and the United States, and to its *Annual Report* of 1891, an extensive and interesting monograph on the history of parliamentary government in Canada. He was given the honorary degree of LL.D. in 1886, by Queen's College, Kingston, and that of D.C.L. in 1888, by Trinity College of Toronto and in 1890, by King's College, Windsor. He received the degree of

Docteur ès Lettres from Laval University in 1893, and that of D.C.L. from Bishop's College in 1895.

In 1890, the Queen created him a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. He was knighted in 1898. He was thrice married: in 1858 he was married to Delia Hawke, who died in 1860; in 1866 he was married to the daughter of the American consul at Halifax, Emily Alden Pilsbury, who died in 1887; thirdly in 1889 to Isabelle Cameron of Toronto. Lady Bourinot survives him.

Keenly interested in both the political and the literary development of Canada, Sir John Bourinot wrote much, and he was an ardent collector of books of both Canadian history and Canadian literature, forming an extensive and remarkably well-selected working library. He was a tall, vigorous, genial man, with great powers of work and great enjoyment in it. His writings fall into two groups, one dealing with Canadian politics, the other with Canadian history. Of the former the chief, besides those already mentioned, were his *Canadian Studies in Comparative Politics* (Montreal, 1890), and his *How Canada is Governed* (Toronto, 1895). The series of his historical writings began with one entitled, *The Intellectual Development of the Canadian People: An Historical Review* (Toronto, 1881). It was an expansion of articles in the *Canadian Monthly*, to which he was one of the chief contributors. A *Blackwood* article, published shortly after, on the "Progress of the New Dominion," was characterized by the *London Times* as "the best article that has yet appeared on the subject in a British periodical." He also contributed to the *Quarterly*, *Westminster* and *Scottish Reviews*. In 1886, Dr. Bourinot published an excellent general sketch of Canadian history, the volume *Canada* in the series called *The Story of the Nations*; in 1888, a *Manual of the Constitutional History of Canada*; and in 1900, in the Cambridge Historical Series, a small book on *Canada under British Rule*, interesting and workmanlike. But the most elaborate of his historical works were labors of love in the history of his native province, the first *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Island of Cape Breton* (Montreal, 1892), exhaustive in text and sumptuously embellished with maps and plans, and the last entitled *Builders of Nova Scotia* (Toronto, 1900).

While not a profound historian, and somewhat too

positive in the statement of political and historical opinions, Sir John Bourinot was an eager and capable student, an accomplished man of letters, a model of excellence as a public official, and an eminently useful citizen.

J. F. J.

Dr. Douglas Brymner, who was elected a foreign member of the Society in October, 1898, died in Ottawa on June 19, 1902. He was born at Greenock, Scotland, on July 3, 1823, the fourth son of Alexander Brymner, a banker of that town, and of Elizabeth Fairlie, daughter of John Fairlie, a well-to-do merchant there. The father came originally from Stirling, where his family had long been prominent. He was a man of refinement and of unusual intellectual attainments, who instilled into his children the love of letters and incited them to extensive reading. Douglas Brymner received a classical education at the Greenock Grammar School and then a thorough mercantile training. He engaged in business in Greenock on his own account, but afterward took a brother into partnership. In 1853, he married Jean Thomson, daughter of William Thomson of Hill End, by whom he had nine children. One of his sons was till lately an official of the Bank of Montreal, another a prominent artist in that city.

Mr. Brymner retired from business in 1856, as the result of illness caused by too close application to his work. Restored by a year of rest, he removed to Canada in 1857, and settled in Melbourne, in the Eastern Townships. Here he was twice elected mayor without a contest, and without soliciting a single vote. Presently he drifted into journalism and literature. An active member of the Church of Scotland (though in his later years he adhered to the Church of England), he had served frequently as a representative elder in the Presbyterian church courts, and had written much on church topics. Early in the sixties he became editor of the *Presbyterian*, the official organ of his church in Canada, and associate editor of the *Montreal Herald*, of which the illness of the chief editor often gave him principal charge. In 1870 and 1871, he was elected President of the Press Gallery of the House of Commons and of the Canadian Press Association. Possessing a large fund of caustic humor, he wrote in Scottish dialect a series of amusing letters under the assumed name of

"Tummas Treddles," an octogenarian weaver of Paisley. The first, on curling, appeared in the *Montreal Herald*, others, on various subjects, in the *Scottish American Journal* of New York. At a later time he published translations of Horace into Lowland Scottish verse.

But that which gave its distinctive flavor to all the later part of his life, and has made it appropriate to commemorate him in the proceedings of an historical society, was his appointment, on June 26, 1872, as archivist of the Dominion of Canada, an appointment which, we are told, met with the approval of all parties. In this office Mr. Brymner performed services of incalculable benefit to all students of Canadian history and of many parts of the history of the United States. He was its first holder, and, as he said in an entertaining account of his labors which he wrote for the American Historical Association (*Papers*, Volume III.), began work in 1872, "with three empty rooms and very vague instructions." His appropriations were small, and for the first nine years he had not even a single clerical assistant. What he accomplished under such conditions, working with great enthusiasm, energy and speed, is most astonishing, for it seems to be the literal fact that he created at Ottawa the largest and most important collection of manuscript historical material in the western hemisphere. At the time of his appointment, the military correspondence of the provinces of Canada for a hundred years was packed up at Halifax, ready for transhipment to London, under the orders of the War Office. Securing a reversal of this order and the transfer of the papers to Ottawa, he attacked them single-handed,—eight tons of documents, between three hundred thousand and four hundred thousand in number,—and arranged them and caused them to be bound in nearly eleven hundred volumes. He procured copies from London of all the papers in the Haldimand and Bouquet Collections, and began a systematic copying of all matter relating to the history of Canada in the British and French archives. The results have been laid before the learned world in a most valuable series of annual reports. At first these formed part of the report of the Minister of Agriculture, Arts and Statistics. Since 1883 they have taken the shape of independent volumes, presenting succinct calendars of large masses of papers, while a selection of the most

important appears printed *in extenso*. The report of 1881 was so much esteemed by the British Public Record Office that it was reprinted entire in the next annual report of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records.

Dr. Brymner was a kindly, genial man, with a shrewd Scottish humor. Modest and clear-headed, and closely devoted to a single great task, he made no attempt to write history. But he laid under great obligations a host of historical writers, and was regarded by them with great gratitude and esteem. In 1892 Queen's University gave him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

J. F. J.

Frank Palmer Goulding was born in Grafton, Massachusetts, July 2nd, 1837, and died in Worcester, Massachusetts, September 16th, 1901, having been a member of this Society since 1886. He was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1863, studied law with Hon. George F. Hoar and in the Harvard Law School, was admitted to the bar in Worcester in 1866, and practised alone for a few months, but was soon taken into partnership by Hon. F. H. Dewey, who at once went abroad, leaving a large and important business in the hands of the young lawyer. This partnership continued until 1869, when Mr. Dewey was appointed Justice of the Superior Court. The firm of Staples and Goulding was then formed, lasting till 1881. Mr. Staples was in turn appointed judge, from which time Mr. Goulding remained alone in business.

Soon after he left the law school Professor Washburn said to a Worcester friend, "I have sent a young man to Worcester who will be heard from." He began practice in the office of Hon. George F. Hoar, who employed him to aid in preparing some law questions for the Supreme Judicial Court and arguing them there, in doing which he displayed such marked ability that the attention of Mr. Dewey, who was looking for a partner, was drawn to him, resulting in the connection above noted. This is an instance not so common in life as in story, of a young man whose eminence is foreseen, and then assured, by a display of capacity on some important occasion. During his entire practice Mr. Goulding had abundant employment of the highest class, and for many years he had a business which has never been excelled in importance in the County.

of Worcester, and for the last few years he was retained throughout the state to a degree quite unusual in recent times.

As a lawyer he ranked with the best in the state, was learned, able and eloquent, excelling particularly in clearness and force of expression. Several opportunities for judicial service were open to him, but he preferred home life and the practice of his chosen profession. Although cheerfully doing his share of political work he had little liking for strictly political office, but was for twelve years city solicitor, was once presidential elector, and served in the legislature as well as in the school board, and was one of the trustees of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute and also of Clark University, and occupied many positions of trust in the community.

He delivered numerous local addresses, including one on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of his native town, and he was to have delivered an address at the centennial in honor of Daniel Webster, at Dartmouth College, which came on September 24th, 1901, just after his death. This was to have been accompanied by the degree of LL.D., the announcement of which came too late for him to see. He was a close student of the classics, a lover of the best English authors, especially Shakespeare, and adorned his arguments with frequent quotations from the world of literature, including Persian. He also studied astronomy, calling to his aid a fine telescope, which he had mounted at his house.

Full notices of him may be found in the history of Worcester County, published by Lewis & Co., volume 1, page 60; the Worcester Magazine of March, 1902, and in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1903.

S. U.

Charles Kendall Adams was born in Vermont, January 24, 1835, in Derby, a township on the eastern shore of Lake Memphremagog, bounded on the north by Canada, and hence known as Derby line.

The parents of Charles Kendall were Charles and Susan Maria (Shedd) Adams. The father, born at New Ipswich, on the southern line of New Hampshire, removed in 1832 not long before the birth of his only son, to the north line



CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS.

of Vermont. He came to Derby as a hatter and men of his trade were early settlers on every backwoods fringe. The reason was that furs, so needful in hat-making, not only for beavers but for other varieties, were most within reach of artisans who lived nearest hunters, whether white or Indian. Before his boy had entered his teens Mr. Adams had become owner of a farm some two miles west of the village, and removing to a new home turned farmer.

His new possessions lay along a lakelet a mile broad and three long. The story-and-a-half house stood between a maple grove and a rocky hill. Facing eastward it had in view the lake, the town centre and high mountains beyond. As the climate was too cold for wheat and small grains, the chief industry was stock-raising, and principally sheep. Thus it is not unlikely that Charles, like the son of Jesse, grew up a shepherd boy, with enchanting outlooks and in an isolation which shielded his morals as savingly as did his father's deaconship. It must have fostered originality more than could as much of school routine. There was no danger that "a lion would come and take a lamb out of his flock," but bears were not yet extinct in the highlands close by.

In 1855 Charles removed with his parents to Iowa. His father had purchased a farm in Denmark, a rural town which to this day remains without a railroad station, and is fifteen miles south of Burlington. Father and son were co-workers in the toil of tillage. The son naturally fell in love with a neighbor's daughter bearing his mother's name, Shedd, and it may be was of her kin.

Charles was a six-footer and black eyed, but his eyelids had a drowsy droop which he never outgrew, and his make-up was rather uncouth. Knowing sheep well he had not learned how to cast those sheep's eyes which bring responsive and loving sidelong looks. Failure here meant success elsewhere, for proof is positive that he was thus driven to the bittersweet medicine of Latin grammar in Denmark academy, then in the dew of its youth, though the oldest of its class west of the Mississippi, chartered years before Iowa had attained to statehood. The preceptor of this lass-lorn lover has just written me: "He did not give promise of the career he attained. His mind was neither quick nor brilliant. He was slow both in bodily and mental traits. The boys called him 'dig.' It is no

wonder that when head of Cornell he was nicknamed Farmer Adams. But from the first his insistent and persistent toughness, diligent and dogged, fitted him to become an investigator."

In 1857 Adams was admitted a freshman at Ann Arbor. Already past the midway of his twenty-third year, he was the oldest candidate among scores, and as probably the most wretchedly fitted, he must have been turned away from the threshold but for the redeeming habit of dig already characteristic, and which was foreseen to be full of saving grace. Such foresight was justified when he was honored with a second degree two years sooner than most who had entered with him. It had been justified long before when he had stood the test of library work and of elementary teaching.

The greatest treasure, however, which the Iowa digger discovered in Michigan was Andrew D. White, who came to that university in the same year with Adams. The one was an unlicked cub and his years had been pent up in a dark den. The other, while no more than three years older, after graduating from Yale had served as an attaché in our legation at St. Petersburg, and had studied at several European universities, mainly to mark their methods with a most observant eye, and with a determination, in Bacon's phrase, to prick into the culture of his own country the choicest flowers of whatever he could garner up in the great elsewhere. Pity for Adams in the depth of destitution, beginning cultural endeavor at an age when his classmates were leaving it off, may have moved the professor to the first befriending of the freshman. Be this as it may, he had not long condescended before the feeling was borne in upon him that Adams would be invaluable, not only as follower but as fellow in heart and hand as to the educational crusade which had become the immediate jewel of his soul.

Largely therefore was the hand of White discernible in the election of Adams as assistant professor in 1863, within seven years of his turning his face from the farm. History was the department of White, and Adams took his suggestions as a cat laps milk who cares not how much she wets her feet. Indeed Adams's own first earnings of daily bread had been in a library that was strongest in history, in the first elements of which his own teaching also began.

About 1867 Mr. White, who had become guide, philosopher and friend to Mr. Cornell in founding an institution which had no other aim than to incarnate the ideals of them both, and that so radically as was not possible in Michigan, was obliged to change his base. He was begged to name a successor, and his choice fell upon Adams as the man most after his own heart, and he stipulated on his behalf for a year abroad of studies preparatory. Accordingly, the professor elect lingered but never loitered in Paris, Berlin, Leipzig, Munich and Heidelberg. His studies centered on educational systems, pre-eminently German. For ten years his convictions had been growing that our home plans cried aloud for reforming altogether, and that evolution or revolution must be inaugurated in the highest departments, and would thence go down as a pervading and permeating leaven to the lowest rootlets.

One feature of German training which he admired was called the seminar—neither name nor thing known in his previous career. Originating in Leipzig, and there in linguistic specialties this innovation had expanded widely and variously, it gathered the élite—a tithe at most of a class—and tied them in a knot or wrestling-ring, where every member, thanks to the “attrition of like minds” force, perforce became a spontaneous co-worker in strenuous attainments undreamed of in the beaten paths of the other nine-tenths. On returning from Europe Professor Adams initiated, as he believed, the earliest American seminar, still however spelling the name with an additional syllable, while his virgin experiment was, of course, historical.

Known by its fruits, it outstretched widely and fast, till it was confessed worthy of all acceptance. It gave new meaning to the Hebrew locution which styles teachers and scholars wakers and answerers. As auxiliary to his special field of research, Mr. Adams wrote his “Manual of Historic Literature,” which swelled to seven hundred pages without a superfluous line. It was dedicated to the partners in his pioneer seminar.

This dedication was not penned till 1882. Seven years before he had dedicated to Mr. White an octavo of more than five hundred pages, concerning “Democracy and Monarchy in France, from the inception of the revolution to the overthrow of the second empire,” treatises both of

which must remain an integral portion of our standard literature.

But while loving and serving above all others his own province, Professor Adams had been instant in season and out of it that the entire University should lengthen its cords and strengthen its stakes. Ere long, that head-centre left no corner of the commonwealth unthrilled by an electrifying shock. Admitting students without examination only from schools which would conform their courses to its bidding, it was master of a leverage which lifted every high school yet higher. Its own instructions began from a higher coign of vantage, so that village Miltos ran less risk of dying mute and inglorious.

But a university so broadening its curricula as to be worthy of its name by supplies for even the most modern demands, was an achievement undertaken in Michigan first among Western States, perhaps not later than in any State more eastern. While Eliot, president from 1869, bided his time waiting for a convenient season, seeds of several exotics sown in Ann Arbor had taken deep root and began to yield thirty-fold increase.

In creating colonial colleges the chief end in view was to equip colonial clergy. "School of the prophets" was an alternate name for Harvard. Broader needs were not yet felt, since pastors fed their flocks in much of law and medicine. "There is substantial evidence," writes a town chronicler regarding a typical instance, "that Rev. John Campbell during his ministry which began in 1720, was acting and advising physician to many of the families in Oxford, so that the profession proper had a limited patronage there till after his death in 1761" (Daniells's Oxford, p. 254). Nor was his threefold service (for he was also a legal light) unusual. When I was at Salt Lake in Brigham's day, in visiting the University I wondered its local habitation was so small. Then said a fellow wayfarer, "What need of more? Sick here are healed by miracle, preachers are taught by inspiration, and lawyers are outlawed as sternly as lepers." Intensive rather than extensive was the culture of our primitive east. It was imitated, however; yes, copied every jot and tittle in the infant west, and not least in state universities onward from the mother of them all in Ohio.

Through the eighteenth century and half the next, higher

education had run along upon ecclesiastical lines. In several States a single denomination became pre-potent. In Massachusetts it was Congregational, Baptist in Rhode Island, Episcopal in New York, Quaker in Pennsylvania and Catholic in Maryland, each as to academic dealings,—with others, a water-tight compartment. Among the outcomes were lowered standards both of admission and graduation, with more superficial intervening requirements. Schools of highest name grew multitudinous, each despairing of a tenth either in endowment or in students attendant of what was indispensable for the doing of their appropriate work. Meantime, miracles new every morning, in chemistry, engineering and sister sciences, steam and electricity, pervading daily life demanded the highest culture in colleges where the lowest was still declared enough. In such conditions the hungry sheep looked up and were not fed; no wonder the percentage of collegians sunk down year by year. Sheep are simple, yet if they find no food convenient for them, will wander from their folds and flock-masters.

In this exigency the first man to dedicate his fortune of a million and his talent which was worth far more to starting the first institution where, in his own words, "any person could find instruction in any study" was Cornell. The unique guide which he needed in laying his corner-stone his common sense, which was most uncommon, discovered in Andrew D. White, whom he "grappled to his soul with hoops of steel." Each of this pair was the half part of a supreme educator, and it is still doubtful which of them owed most to the other. White, whose richest spoil from study and travel abroad, was such an ideal as Cornell had the will but not the skill to actualize at home. White had tried his prentice hand at Ann Arbor in a position much above an apprentice. But true architects, like the grand apostle, prefer not to build upon another man's foundation, and at Cornell millions lay at White's feet for the fulfillment of his educational dreams. He did not come there out of an Egyptian prison, like Joseph, yet must have entered Cornell exulting that his soul had elbow room as never before. His foundations for after-coming master-builders are well described in words possibly borrowed from himself in a subsequent federal law, "while excluding no old classical or disciplinary studies, nor schools of law and medicine, or science, it included co-education, optional

courses, normal schools and military tactics, with such branches of learning as relate to agriculture and the mechanic arts." On this system his energies, of whatever name, were concentrated for fifteen years in a focus which burned up all obstacles and illuminated Cornell's march to assured success. His vital strength being at last exhausted, or at least demanding a contrasting world of activity, he resolutely resigned while never more desiderated. He was urged to nominate a Cornell head, and to the surprise of many, his voice was at once for Adams. A few of his many words for him were: "He is among the foremost of the men who have brought the University of Michigan up to its present condition. His character is of the highest, his scholarship deeply rooted and fruitful, his experience extensive and of the very kind we need, his power of thought and utterance such as especially fit him for the work we offer, his executive ability fully demonstrated, his reputation among scholars, abroad and at home, of the very sort we should ask for; for years my mind has been turning to him as the man of all men we could hope for, to carry on and enlarge the work we have begun, and I am opposed to any delay in choosing my successor." On the self-same day, when the Cornell Trustees heard these words, July 13, 1885, Mr. Adams was elected President, all but two of their fifteen votes being cast in his favor.

For the next seven years the career of Mr. Adams at Ithaca was progress onward and upward on paths opened by his only predecessor, while he himself opened others of wider expansion. Explaining his processes is here impossible, but a single result crowds a history into a sentence. Within his seven years the teaching staff grew from 54 to 135, and the roll of students swelled from 573 to 1506, one-third of them in departments newly established. He had fulfilled the prophecy of his predecessor. The mantle of Elijah had fallen on Elisha, upon shoulders not unworthy.

Nevertheless, in 1892 the health of Mr. Adams had become impaired, and the presidential duties through an amplified routine left him at most only scattered fragments of leisure—*disjecta membra* of time for either study or teaching, and he therefore laid down his sceptre, and then at once was doubly diligent as editor-in-chief of a Universal Cyclopedias and other literary enterprises,—as a golden harvest of the wisdom and learning hived through many a

studious year. Such a sabbath of his age, however, was no more than a brief dream. New greatness was thrust upon him, when the University of Wisconsin cried aloud, come thou and rule over us! Cornell was not of the Wisconsin State class in which he had been nurtured, and where he had chiefly taught,—the class coming nearest to all as endowed by all. It may be too that the new dignity was thrust upon him by the good genius—who knew him altogether and all along had been the strategic Von Moltke of his pilgrimage and whose advice had always verified the proverb that lookers on at a game see more than the players,

His acceptance of the Wisconsin call was Sept. 20, 1892, and he began service at once though not inaugurated until January 17, 1893. In Madison as elsewhere, it was his to know something of “the rough brake that virtue must go through, and ravenous fishes that a vessel follow which is new-trimmed.” But his patient continuance in well-doing, and that still taught by former mistakes in the end put censurers to shame and crowned his presidency with laurels that will not fade. Proofs are abundant in authoritative prints of the institution for whose good he wore himself out, and fell with all his armor on. Under his administration, post-graduates, of whom he found a score, added five scores to their elect few; the single thousand of students became 2600, while their teachers enlarged a census of 68 to 180. All old buildings were improved, eight new ones added, above all the magnificent edifice, shared equally with the State Historical Society, through a well-matched marriage, was erected, costing three-fourths of a million and treasuring within its fire-proof walls one-third as many books,—open to all comers daily and far into the night. On the 450 acres which the academic grounds now embrace you can stand at no point where your eye will not behold some handiwork of Charles Kendall Adams:

Si monumentum requiris circumspice.

In the early autumn of 1900 his health became so enfeebled that he proposed resigning, but was offered a year's furlough by the regents, who trusted that he would come back to his office with rejuvenated vigor. In previous tours much of Europe had been traversed and he now with his wife sailed to the Riviera of northern Italy. Here his disease was arrested, nor did such a relapse occur as

obliged him to confess it incurable till his return to Madison in September, 1901. His resignation was written on October 11, followed quickly in California at Redlands by struggles for recuperation, which ended in his death there, July 26, 1902.

Education according to the creed of Mr. Adams is the best boon which one generation can bestow on that which follows it, and the fulness of his faith he showed throughout life and still more touchingly at his death.

Having neither children nor needy dependants he bequeathed his all to education. His library of 2000 volumes fell to that of Wisconsin University, and with the books was willed to that last scene of his mortal labor whatever he had stored for possible necessities of unregarded age in corners thrown. The total utmost of \$30,000 he believed would prove the nucleus of fifteen scholarships, each a prize, drawing up some struggling scholar to itself and giving him a stand-point, or *modus vivendi*, from which he would mount yet higher. This bounty, the "all of his all," was clogged by no conditions except those which the authorities succeeding him should deem most sure to do most for that sort of scholarships which would rouse the lowest to a higher level and would uplift the very highest yet more high.

At the Madison memorial obsequies of Adams, the closing words of President Wheeler from California University were: "He could suffer and repine not, for his heart was set to high and noble things, his vision reached behind the veil and many a time had he walked with God. Farewell! Faithful man, great heart, wise friend of education, farewell."

In the lottery of life it was the good fortune of Mr. Adams to draw a prize in and with both of his wives. The dowry of the first, Mrs. Mudge, married in 1863, made possible that early year abroad, which was to him nothing less than a new and nobler birth. After his return, her tactful and earnest efforts doubled his youthful reputation and usefulness. No sooner had their acquaintance begun, as they first met as fellow teachers, than her sweetness and light filled him with new ambitions.

The second Mrs. Adams, born Mary Mathews, for thirteen years taught in the public schools of Brooklyn, N. Y., having commenced that labor elsewhere at the age of seven-

teen. As wife of Mr. Barnes, a man of large wealth, she had become interested in his benefactions to Cornell. After her marriage to Mr. Adams she became greatly beloved in Ithaca and thereafter in Madison. She stretched out both hands, never empty and always helpful, to scores whose pathway to culture was as her own had been, through a hedge of thorns. Her words, in season, made many weary ones of good cheer. When bidding Madison a farewell which she foreboded must be final, hers was the whole-souled spirit of that widow in the gospel whose gift was "all the living that she had" and whose two mites shall ring out music from the treasury of the Lord forever. Her 694 choice volumes she added to that Historical Library where readers daily must congregate. For founding an art-fund, she contributed her personal jewels, which had cost more than \$4000, which had been so wisely bought that their avails yielded no fewer thousands. Two of the largest halls in the University Museum, she filled with objects of high or curious art which had crowded her New York mansion. There were pictures, marbles, bronzes, malachite, ivories, embroideries, laces, tapestries, shawls, rugs, curios—whatever far beyond the sea had roused her craving,—whatever in the golden honeymoon she had freely received when the Barnes purse had been her cornucopia she freely gave. The endowments established as their ultimate service by this married pair, lovely in life and in death not long divided, recall words with which a similar consecration far away and long ago inspired eloquent lips to exclaim: "Insatiable benevolence! which not contented with reigning in the dispensation of happiness during the contracted term of human life, strained with all the reachings and graspings of vivacious mind, to extend the dominion of their bounty beyond the limits of nature, and to perpetuate themselves through generations of generations, the guardians, the protectors and the nourishers of mankind."

JAMES DAVIE BUTLER.

Madison, Wis., Oct. 1, 1904.

For the Council,

SAMUEL UTLEY.

EMERGENT TREASURY-SUPPLY IN MASSACHUSETTS IN EARLY DAYS.

BY ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS.

IN the course of her career as colony, province and state, Massachusetts, in the effort to fill her treasury by other than ordinary means, has had two calamitous episodes, each caused by the emission of bills of public credit. The first of these was inaugurated during the administration of affairs by the temporary government organized after the overthrow of Andros, and was continued in the days of the province for a period amounting altogether to a little over half a century. When Hutchinson and his followers, in 1749, were able, by a lucky chance, to secure a resumption of specie payments, through the appropriation for that purpose of the fund allowed by the British government for the reimbursement of the provincial expenditures in the Louisburg expedition, there were but few business men living who had seen a metallic currency in circulation in New England, and there must have been a great many tradesmen to whom coined silver was but an object of idle curiosity.

The return to a specie basis, while it placed in the hands of the people enough silver—when combined with the additional coin let loose by merchants—to meet the needs of ordinary trade, carried with it inevitably, through its disarrangement of the circulating medium, the impending disadvantage of an empty treasury. This was met, when it occurred, by a recurrence to the policy of borrowing from the people on short terms, a method which had been established in the days of the colony. The process then resorted to was continued from year to year until May,

1775, when the printing-press was again made use of to supply the treasury. The special subject which I have selected for our consideration today—Emergent Treasury-Supply in Massachusetts in Early Days—leads up to and would naturally include the transition to the methods employed after the establishment of the Commonwealth, but the limits necessarily imposed upon a paper of this sort preclude the pursuit of the topic beyond the retirement of the State's quota of the continental bills and the emission of state notes in place of the same, on the basis of forty for one, which was provided for by the General Assembly in May, 1780.

The experience had been as I have indicated; first, nearly sixty years of borrowing, then sixty years of emitting denominational currency, then twenty-five years of borrowing. Following this came a little over two years of dependence upon bills of public credit, after which the State settled again upon the policy of borrowing, on interest-bearing notes.

I have elsewhere described in great detail the features of the paper-craze, through which our forefathers passed in the first half of the eighteenth century. In what I have to say today I shall not trespass upon that ground more than is necessary to illustrate my topic, but the development of the facts connected with the emission of bills of public credit and treasurer's notes, for the supply of the State treasury, from 1775 to 1780, will enable me to round out the story of the participation of Massachusetts in attempts to supply a denominational currency based solely upon government credit, down to the establishment of the Commonwealth.

It is true that the legislation with reference to the circulating medium from the days of "Corn-Money" to the era of "Dollars" has been collated by Felt¹ in his "Massachusetts Currency," and further that Mr. Charles

¹ *An Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency*, by Joseph B. Felt.

H. J. Douglass¹ has in his "Financial History of Massachusetts" brought together the facts relating to the special subject under consideration and has also analyzed the colonial and provincial laws bearing thereon, thus smoothing the path for successors in this work and relieving them from prolonged study. Moreover, I myself, in the "Confiscation of John Chandler's Estate," was compelled to devote a chapter to the consideration of the emissions of the revolutionary currency of the State, 1775 to 1778, in the vain hope of determining in "sterling," the various values assigned to Chandler's estate at different times in terms of "lawful money." My approach to the subject at that time, was, however, from a special point of view, and much was left to be said in order to complete the story of the currency emissions by Massachusetts. I trust, therefore, that I shall be able to make such use of the material at my command as to avoid the charge that the subject is too hackneyed for our consideration. The field is so important that pre-emption cannot be tolerated and so wide that it cannot be exhaustively covered by any two or three writers.

COLONY.

When the group of colonists who bore with them the charter of the company arrived in Massachusetts and set up a local government under that instrument, they were necessarily compelled to meet the question, How should that government be supported? Taxation through the medium of the general court and the towns was the answer given, and in this solution of the question the settlers acquiesced. Then, as now, there were times when the treasury was empty, and then, as now, the government met outstanding obligations by treasury notes or by

¹ *Studies in History, Economics and Public Land, Columbia College, Vol. I., No. 4.*

directly borrowing from those who were able to come to the rescue of the government credit.

While we have no record of any such proceedings in the first decade of the government, we nevertheless find that one of the duties prescribed for the Auditor-General in 1645 was to "examine all notes, bills and accompts upon wth the Country is to make payment or satisfaccon to any pson."¹

We might, perhaps, doubt whether the word "notes" actually referred to obligations given by the treasurer for money loaned or in settlement of debts incurred, were it not that entries in the records, shortly after the date of the Act quoted from, fully justify the proposition that the treasurer was in the habit at that time of supplying the treasury, and of meeting outstanding obligations of the government, in this manner. Thus at a session of the Court in November, 1646, we find the following entry:

"Whereas, it appeares by a note, und^r y^e Treasurers hand, y^t there is due to Rich'd Saltonstall, Esq^r, nyne pound, pt of a debt due to S^r Rich: Saltonstall for amunition, &c, & whereas he affirmes (wth we believe) y^t he disbursed for y^e Country, a good time since, some oth^r monyes, y^e C^ru^te ord^rs hee shall have tenn pounds paid, in a small piecee of ordinance (to be valued by y^e Survey^r Gen^r), he rend^r y^e overplus (if any be) in ready mony."²

It was at this session that the general tax act was brought into shape and the system for the assessment and apportionment of taxes for the general government which prevailed during the days of the colony was inaugurated.³ The rates, even, were fixed, which were to govern from year to year—a poll tax of one shilling and eightpence per person and a tax on real and personal estate of one

¹ Mass. Colonial Records, Vol. III., p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 165. See also Vol. III., p. 83.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 173. Also recorded in Vol. III., p. 88; Colonial Laws, 1660 Ed., p. 14; Colonial Laws, 1672 Ed., p. 23.

penny in every twenty shillings of assessed value. The system prevailed and the "rate" remained the same, during the days of the colony, but as the functions of the government were magnified the treasurer was ordered to assess two rates or three rates, as the case might be, and during the Indian wars the assessment rose as high as ten of the rates fixed in 1646.¹

Succeeding the entry of the tax act in the record, the following illustration of the method of raising emergent supplies occurs:

"It is ord'ed, y^t such Monyes as have been borrowed of div^{se} men by y^e Co^rte are to be & shalbe, repaid y^m, by y^e first of y^e 2^d M^o next, in mon^y, beav^r, or Wheate at 3. 8^d p^t-bushell, & wth all, y^t y^e Treasurer may engage himself for satisfaction accordingly."²

With the growth of the colony, accompanied as it was with increased expenditures and an enlarged field of operation for the treasurer, we find that such items as the payment of a debt of nine pounds with a piece of ordinance, if such incidents continued to occur, are eliminated from the records and as is natural, we discover some evidence of greater formality in effecting loans than the mere issuance from time to time by the treasurer of his notes. In August, 1661, the borrowing was put in the hands of a committee of the general court³ and the treasurer was authorized "to engage in the name of the Court for theire repayment thereof, wth due allowance for the same, to the satisfaction of such gent^a as shall make supplyes thereof in moneys, here & in England, for the occasions aforesd." In December of that year the same course was followed, the action of the committee being at that date "confirmed and allowed" in advance, and the treasurer ordered to "engage for the same."⁴

In August, 1664, the treasurer was authorized to borrow

¹ Mass. Colonial Records, Vol. V., p. 81. ² *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 175.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., Pt. 2, p. 32. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

on the best terms that he could, the specific sum of one hundred pounds,¹ but in October, 1666, the following was the language used in the resolve passed for the purpose of raising money for the colony's use:

“It is ordered that the Secretary and Treasurer shall signe all such orders as the Comitte impowred to raise money for the Country's use shall agree upon, & give them signed under their hands, in order to the rasing of the said money, & for the security of such as shall lend it.”²

In this case not only does a committee intervene, but the secretary is associated with the treasurer in the signing of the obligations to be issued by the colony. The fact that the amount to be raised was indeterminate may have been the cause of this unusual formality.

The session of the court in which the foregoing order was recorded is nominally October 10, 1666,³ but there is entered as though it constituted a part of the proceedings of the same session a copy of a letter ordered by the court to be written, which bears date October 24th. Following this letter in the record is an order authorizing Mr. Henry Ashcourt with others in London, to “take up upon loane to the value of one thousand pounds”—to the payment of which the court bound itself, the order closing in the following words:

“And in testimony of this Courts obligation thereto, wee have appointed our Treasurer to signe this order as the Act of this Court, and that there be affixed the seale of the colony hereto.”

In April, 1668, the court recited that they had “passed an act whereby they have obliged the treasurer for the payment of a very considerable summe of money,”⁴ and in case there should be any failure of the money coming

¹ Mass. Colonial Records, Vol. IV., Pt. 2. p. 123. ² *Ibid.*, p. 328. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

from the expected sources the treasurer was authorized and empowered to borrow as much money at interest as the engagement of the court should require.

In February, 1675-76, the court announced that the country treasury was exhausted through disbursements in prosecuting the Indian war.¹ As the war was still in progress and more money was needed, the faith of the colony was pledged to those who should make loans to the government. A receipt under the hand and seal of the treasurer was to be sufficient evidence that the lender was entitled to the further security of the public and common lands and the interest of the colony in any conquered lands. The treasurer was to arrange with lenders as to the time of their respective loans and the interest thereon.

The close of the Indian war was followed by a period of relative quiet during which there was a great abatement of taxation and an apparent cessation of borrowing, although in February, 1683-84, the treasurer was ordered to "procure" one hundred pounds for a special purpose.² The fact that borrowing had then practically ceased was perhaps demonstrated by the action of the court in May, 1684, in ordering half a country rate to be collected, the same "to be improved for emergent occasions, &c." This may indicate that the financial condition of the colony was such that there was no longer need for resort to borrowing, or that the credit of the government was affected by the legal proceedings taken for the abrogation of the charter in England. The moderation of the rates at this period would seem to favor the former proposition. In any event, the days of borrowing as a colony were over, but the foregoing quotations from the records show that beginning with the recognition of certain treasurer's notes, for the execution of which no trace of authority is to be found, we from time to time find evidence of borrowing

¹ Mass. Colonial Records, Vol. V., p. 71. ² *Ibid.*, p. 482.

by the treasurer and of his furnishing lenders with obligations, such debentures being emitted under varying degrees of formality, but with an evident recognition of the need for greater circumspection as the size of the loans increased.

PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL.

The proceedings under the President and Council in the days of Dudley and Andros might, perhaps, be disregarded altogether in this connection. The decision in the *scire facias* case had annulled the charter and the arbitrary form of government substituted in its place, carrying with it the claim on the part of many that all colonial laws had been abrogated, would probably have caused capitalists to hesitate before lending to an administration whose demands for recognition were based upon such obnoxious theories. The records of the council, both under Dudley¹ and under Andros,² have been published. They contain no allusion to any other methods of raising money than by taxation, nor is there any indication in the discussions at a later date concerning the accounts of Wells and of Usher, treasurers during this period, of any credits due to unusual sources.³

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

It was during the brief life of the provisional government which assumed control on the arrest of Andros, that an entirely new and theretofore unheard of method of supplying the treasury was inaugurated.

A combined military and naval expedition was organized for the capture of Quebec and was dispatched upon its mission without any arrangements being made for payment of the wages of the soldiers and sailors or for the settlement

¹ *Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 2d Series, Vol. XIII., p. 226.

² *Proceedings Am. Ant. Soc.*, Vol. XIII., Pt. 2, p. 239; Vol. XIII., Pt. 3, p. 463.

³ See *Acts and Resolves, Prov. of Mass. Bay*, Vol. VII., p. 645 *et seq.* Consult the Index for further references to these accounts.

of the expenses incurred in its preparation. The disastrous failure of the expedition prevented the colony from making payment out of the expected plunder from Quebec, and the ingenious scheme was resorted to, of adjusting these accounts by means of certificates of debt, issued by the colony, having different denominational values and capable of being used in lieu of money.

PROVINCE.

The provincial government continued to make use of this device during a period of a little over fifty years, the same being practically coincident with the first half of the eighteenth century. The method of proceeding, which soon became stereotyped, was to meet from year to year all outstanding debts and immediately impending obligations of the government, by emissions of bills of public credit in the form of due bills. Accompanying each emission was a pledge that the same amount of bills should be called in by tax at a specific future date. The taxes, therefore, of this period were laid, not for the purpose of meeting obligations or paying debts, but for the retirement of bills of public credit. The government, indeed, instead of being a borrower, became a lender,—not of money, but of bills, which were defined to be “in value equal to money.” Loans were made to citizens, either direct or through counties or towns, from which positive gain was expected in the form of interest, and through which it was hoped that the disturbance to the circulating medium from the funding process, which took place annually when taxes were collected, would be lessened. These loans were called “banks.”

Such were the processes by means of which the colonists were accustomed to furnish supplies for the treasury in the days of the province; in fact, such only were the processes which were in vogue under the second charter

from its arrival in 1692 down to 1750. The expenses of the Phipps expedition had been met with "Old Colony bills." The Hill and Walker expedition could not have gone forward except for the loans of province bills made to the Boston merchants. The chronic troubles with the eastern Indians and the expedition to Nova Scotia were all met through the same means, and, finally, the great coup of Shirley, the Louisburg expedition, was made possible through the power of the province to create bills of public credit at will. The marvellous, and almost incomprehensible success which attended this expedition was gained at the expense of the bankruptcy of the province, but the very fact that affairs in Massachusetts were so deplorable, compelled recognition on the part of the British government that this condition had been mainly brought about in securing for Great Britain a prize useless to the province, but of enormous value to the home government in the negotiations through which the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was accomplished. Thus, an expedition begun under circumstances which seemed capable of producing only military disaster, and conducted, so far as the financial methods of the province were concerned, in a way that could lead only to ruin, through the extent of its success in the field and of the overwhelming bankruptcy which it produced at home, brought about the reimbursement of the province in coin, for expenditures made in bills of public credit, and gave opportunity for the resumption of specie payments.

For upwards of fifty years the government had been exempted from the necessity of borrowing. The time had now come when the conditions were such that there would probably be a period each year when the treasury would be empty and so far as the immediate future was concerned, the situation was aggravated by the obstructions placed in the way of the redemption of the bills through the delays of collectors in remitting to the treasurer.

"The bills being all exchanged by the silver imported from England," says Hutchinson,¹ "and provision made by law, that no bills of credit should ever after pass as money, there was a difficulty in providing money for the immediate service of government, until it could be raised by tax. Few people were at first inclined to lend to the province, though they were assured of payment in a short time with lawful interest. The treasurer, therefore, was ordered to make payment to the creditors of government in promissory notes, payable to the bearer in silver in two or three years, with lawful interest. This was really better than any private security; but the people, who had seen so much of the bad effects of their former paper money from its depreciation, could not consider this as without danger, and the notes were sold for silver at discount, which continued until it was found that the promise made by government was punctually performed. From that time the public security was preferred to private, and the treasurer's notes were more sought for than those of any other person whomsoever. This was the era of public credit in Massachusetts Bay."

In this paragraph Hutchinson sums up the situation in 1750 and epitomizes the story of methods of treasury-supply of the next quarter of a century. It will be observed that he indicates that the treasurer was ordered to give his notes, payable in silver. Such indeed was the practice, but it is not impossible that a part of the distrust with which these appeals of the government for assistance were at first received was due to the fact that although it was "Spanish milled dollars" that the government sought to borrow, the obligation which was at the outset offered to lenders did not contain a specific promise to pay in silver, or even in dollars, but the phraseology of the treasurer's receipt was couched in pounds. It was in June, 1750, that the first borrowing was effected, the alleged purpose of the loan being to defray the charges of the government.² The process was renewed in October

¹ Hutchinson's History of Mass., Vol. III., p. 10.

² Acts and Resolves Province Mass. Bay, Vol. III., p. 513.

of the same year, and this time the treasurer promised "to pay the same number of like dollars."

In making these loans the government could only learn by experience the size of the note, or as it was called in these acts "the treasurer's receipt," which would meet with the most favorable reception. In June, 1750, the treasurer was ordered not to give his receipt for any less sum than £50. In October the lowest note was to be £5, and thereafter the minimum limit was generally fixed at £6. It may be inferred from this that dependence was placed upon the people rather than the capitalists.

All of these notes bore interest, the rate down to 1765 being 6% and after that 5%. The needs of the government in excess of the amount derived from the import and excise was very small, but the redemption of a large number of bills of public credit, which remained in circulation, had to be provided for, even after the application of the reimbursement funds for this purpose and after the levy of a special tax to cover deficiencies. To retire these bills, special legislation was effected as late as 1754.¹ Following this drain upon the people, outside the ordinary annual charges of the government, there came first the expenses caused by Indian troubles in Maine, and later heavy charges consequent upon the outbreak of hostilities between England and France. The annual contribution to the Crown Point and Canadian expeditions, which then ensued, led to a steady increase of the amounts borrowed by the treasurer. In 1758, they passed the £200,000 mark. In 1760, they reached the sum of £242,714. In 1765, after a brief period of decline, a second culminating point of £197,000 was reached, after which the size of the loans steadily declined, until in 1771-1772, there was no borrowing at all.

It was in 1765 that the rate of interest upon the loans was reduced. The province was then carrying a load

¹ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. III, p. 717.

of debt amounting to a little over £400,000, all of which would mature in the years 1766 and 1767. The secret of the credit of the government while staggering under such a burden is to be found in two causes: First, the British government had followed the precedent established in connection with the Louisburg campaign and had reimbursed the colonies for certain of the expenses incurred in the Canadian expeditions; and, second, the province, now that the war was over, had deliberately set to work to retire the outstanding treasurer's receipts, in annual instalments of such size that the tax levy would not cripple the resources of the province.

In 1765, Governor Bernard wrote to the Lords of Trade relative to the provincial act for supplying the treasury with £197,000 through the treasurer's receipts:

"The General Court reduces their debt by 50,000 pounds every year, and as they are obliged conformably to the Act of Parliament to confine their bills of Credit within 2 years, they annually borrow a sum less by £50,000 than what will be due at the end of the year, by which the whole debt appears on the face of the Bill and is every year £50,000 less than the former."¹

The reference by Bernard to the Act of Parliament gives a clue to the reason why no attempt was made to float a number of loans which should mature at different periods in the future and thus avoid the annual recurrence to the borrowing process. The province was trammeled in this regard by the Act of 24th George II., Ch. 53, which restrained the colonies in the emission of bills of public credit. This law made void any Act of the Assembly, creating any paper bills or bills of credit of any kind or denomination whatsoever, except bills for the current service of the year where provision was made for their repayment within two years. It is true that under stress, the province had emitted treasurer's

¹ Quoted in *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay.* Vol. IV., p. 863.

receipts, which ran for three years. This had been overlooked, but in 1775, the question was gravely discussed in the Privy Council whether certain of these treasurer's receipts which ran for two years and four days were not emitted in contravention of law.¹ Hutchinson, in his "Diary," says regarding this transaction:

"I did not believe the obligations given by the Treasurer could be considered as the Bills of Credit intended by that Act": and then adds: "for though they were assignable, they passed as money between man and man in the Paper-Money Colonies."

From which one might infer that they ought so to have been considered.

Bernard's characterization of the treasurer's receipts as "bills of credit," and this remark of Hutchinson brings us face to face with the close resemblance of the financial proceedings at this time, to those of the paper-money period. Then an emission of bills of public credit was made each year adequate to meet the requirements of the province. Simultaneously a future tax was ordered which was pledged for the retirement of the bills. Now, the province borrowed what it needed each year, giving the lenders interest-bearing treasurer's receipts in sums not less than £6, which were protected by a future tax pledged for their payment. The important points of difference between the proceedings at these different dates were: 1st. The reception of the treasurer's receipts was purely voluntary, while the bills of public credit were forced upon the people by their legal tender attribute and through the fact that they then constituted the only circulating medium; 2nd. The receipts bore interest and hence would be held in reserve by capitalists, thus releasing a corresponding amount of coin for circulation. Their

¹ Quoted from the papers of the Board of Trade in *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V., p. 411.

² Quoted in *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V., p. 411.

effect, therefore, so far as they tended at this time to increase the circulating medium, was not disastrous, as would have been the case of interest-bearing notes in the days of paper-money; 3rd. The size of the minimum receipt was high for ordinary purposes of circulation. We must not overlook the fact, however, that we are no longer dealing with times when the treasurer recorded that he had given his note for nine pounds. In 1765, Governor Bernard wrote:

"This winter a gentleman who had acted considerably as a Banker, stop't payment for £170,000 Sterling."¹

Six pound notes were certainly not too large for the ordinary use of a gentleman who could fail for this sum, and if there were many more in Boston whose transactions were on a similar scale, it well may be that in certain channels these notes found circulation. Yet we must bear in mind that Hutchinson himself² said that:

"From an aversion to silver currency, the body of the people changed in a few months, and took an aversion to paper, though it had silver as a fund to secure the value of it."

Taking this into consideration, his qualification that these notes circulated "in the Paper-Money Colonies"

¹ Quoted in *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. IV., p. 793. The amount of this failure seems incredible, but I am assured by our associate, Mr. Hubert Hall, of H. M. Public Record Office, that the letter is correctly quoted in the *Acts and Resolves*, &c. Mr. Hall adds, "It appears that the person in question was a banker, and that explains much. It is said to have been like 'an earthquake' in the town."

Mr. H. E. Woods, the editor of the *Historic Genealogical Register*, was kind enough to endeavor to identify the person of the bankrupt. He sends me these references from the *House Journal*:-

Page 216, 6 Feb., 1765: "A petition of creditors of Nathaniel Wheelwright of Boston, Merchant, who hath lately stopped payment," etc.

Page 220-223, 7 Feb., 1765: "An Act for protecting the person of Nathaniel Wheelwright, of Boston, Merchant," etc.

Mr. Woods also calls my attention to references on pages 55 and 74 of "Letters and Diary of John Rowe, Boston, Merchant, &c.," which seem to identify Wheelwright as the bankrupt in question.

² Hutchinson's *History of Mass.*, Vol. III., p. 9.

is emphasized and we may doubt if they found general circulation in Massachusetts.

There were at least two attempts to raise money for the province by lotteries during this period.¹ The only gain that was proposed for the government out of these transactions was the temporary use of the prize money. The first of these² was in February, 1750-51. Eighty-nine hundred tickets were to be sold for three milled dollars each, thus producing, if sold, \$26,700. Two thousand two hundred twenty-five prizes amounting to \$26,200 were to be distributed to the benefit tickets, one year after the drawing, and interest at 3% was to be allowed on the prize money. A tax for £8010 was ordered to be levied in February, 1751-52, thus furnishing a guarantee that the government would have the money to meet the prizes and pay the expenses of the lottery, while the treasurer, if the tickets were promptly sold, would in the meantime have had the use of the money for current expenses.

This lottery shared the fate of many others. In the original act, the drawing was ordered to take place April 18th, 1751, if five thousand tickets were then sold. This condition not having been complied with, the drawing was postponed to June 5th.³ The stipulation as to the three milled dollars for each ticket was then altered and province bills and treasurer's warrants were made receivable. The interest on the prizes was raised to 6%. When the day for drawing in June came round, matters had not progressed much and again there was a postponement, this time to August 6th,⁴ at which time the commissioners were ordered to close up the affair no matter how many tickets had been sold. What the actual condition was

¹ It will be understood, of course, that I deal in this paper only with lotteries which were created for the benefit of the Treasury of the Province. There were several lotteries during this period whose purpose it was to raise money for some local object. These do not concern us.

² *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. III., p. 539. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 542.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 575.

at that time is shown by authority to borrow £4545 or \$15,150 conferred upon the treasurer in October.¹ Apparently, even with these two postponements, they were only able to sell tickets amounting to \$11,550.

In April, 1758, managers were appointed who were to devise and carry out a scheme for a lottery for raising and borrowing thirty thousand pounds.² The prizes were to be treasurer's receipts having about three years to run and bearing interest at 6%. This attempt was a complete failure, and in October, 1759, it was ordered that the money raised by the managers should be returned to "the possessors."³

The proceeds of the reimbursement for the Louisburg expedition were shipped to the province in 1749 by Bolland, the province agent, exclusively in Spanish silver coins, with the exception of a proportionate amount of copper for small change. The form of the obligations, then emitted by the treasurer, was governed by the situation in 1750, and they were made payable in silver. This practice was adhered to until 1762. The Resumption Act⁴ specifically provided that all debts, contracts and bargains were thereafter to be considered to be in silver at 6s. 8d. an ounce and that full weight Spanish milled dollars were to pass for 6s. It was soon discovered that there was some English silver in circulation and further that there was more or less Portuguese gold. Consequently, there was an act⁵ passed in 1750, fixing the rates at which such coins should be received in trade, the assertion being made in the preamble that they were being passed at a disproportionately high rate. Of this attempt to make these coins current at a lower rate than they naturally assumed in the market, Professor Sumner says:

"When the law . . . tried to keep them down by a

¹ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. III., p. 595.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., p. 88. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 142. ⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., pp. 433-434.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 494.

penalty for passing them at a higher rate, it only drove them out."¹

Not long after the passage of this law the London market effected what the act of 1750 was impotent to accomplish.

"Silver bullion," says Hutchinson,² "for a year or two past had advanced in price, in England, from 5s. 3d. to 5s. 7d. an ounce. A greater proportion of silver than of gold had been exported, and people, who observed the scarcity of silver, were alarmed. A bill was brought into the house of representatives and passed, making gold a lawful tender at the rates at which the several coins had been current for many years past."

This was in 1762, and simultaneously with the passage of this act a new form of note was adopted payable in silver or gold.³ Bernard bears testimony to the cause for this legislation, saying that dollars were "transmitted to England, being the best specie for that purpose," and, again, that "the Province would have suffered very much if it had been obliged to make its payments in the tenor of its bills."⁴

In addition to the fact that there was a movement at this time of Spanish dollars towards the London market, there was simultaneously an unusual amount of Portuguese gold in circulation in the province; 10,424 $\frac{1}{2}$ johannes and 1414 $\frac{1}{2}$ moidores remitted by Bolland, on the Mercury, arrived⁵ December 3, 1759; 28,528 johannes and 3000 moidores arrived on the Fowey, March 14, 1760.⁶ These shipments had been made pursuant to specific instructions, but, in April, 1761, Governor Bernard called the attention of the assembly to the fact that the various expenses attendant upon the transportation of the specie amounted

¹ *Coin Shilling of Mass. Bay*, *Yale Rev.*, Nov. '98, p. 274.

² *Hutchinson's History of Mass.*, Vol. III., p. 99.

³ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. IV., p. 516.

⁴ Letters quoted in *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. IV., p. 559.

⁵ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. IV., p. 347. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

to upwards of ten per cent. of its value, while at the same time Boston merchants were shipping coin to London at a similar expense. He proposed, therefore, that the province thereafter, instead of causing these reimbursements to be remitted, should draw bills on the province agent and sell them to Boston merchants.¹ Bolland estimated that this plan would save the province about seven per cent.² The obvious advantages to be derived from such a course led to its adoption. The bills were sold in 1761 for 136, in 1762 for 138, in 1763 for 136, in 1764 for 135 and in 1765 for 135 New England shillings for 100 sterling, thus confirming the judgment of Bernard.³

During the remainder of the days of the province, there was nothing worthy of mention in connection with supplies for the treasury. The peace of 1763 had permitted affairs to assume their normal condition, during which the outstanding treasury receipts were redeemed and no new cause arose for the application of stringent methods in the way of raising money, so long as the chair of state was filled by a royal governor. The next occasion for an emergent supply arose under the second Provincial Congress, an elective body, which came into existence under the following circumstances.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

On the first of September, 1774, General Gage sent out his precepts for the election of representatives who were to be convened at Salem, October fifth. Notwithstanding the fact that by a proclamation issued September twenty-eighth, the General sought to prevent the very session for which he had issued this summons, the representatives elected in pursuance of these precepts, assuming that his

¹ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. IV., p. 541.

² Letter quoted in *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. IV., p. 440.

³ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. IV., p. 458, p. 581, p. 662, p. 720, p. 805.

power of prorogation did not exist in anticipation of actual session, met at the appointed time, and the governor not being present, organized themselves into what they termed a provincial congress, for the purpose of considering the condition of public affairs and of determining measures to promote the prosperity of the province.¹ On the tenth of December² this body, being then in session at Concord, provided for its own dissolution and for the election of members to represent the towns and districts of the province in a second congress to assemble at Cambridge February first, next ensuing. The delegates elected in pursuance to this call were to remain in session until May twenty-ninth and no longer.³ They met at the appointed time and held meetings first at Cambridge, then at Concord, then at Watertown. A third congress was convened at Watertown May thirty-first. The second congress had voted, April 1, that if writs were regularly issued for a general assembly, the towns ought to obey the precepts, but that the representatives then elected ought not to transact business with the mandamus councillors.⁴ The battle of Lexington rendered this session of the court impossible, and May 4th congress reconsidered this vote.⁵ May 5th, it was resolved to call upon the towns to forthwith elect delegates to a third congress,⁶ the one that convened as above, May 31st. It will be seen from the foregoing that

¹The attention of the student ought, at this point, to be called to the function of the County Convention in preparing the people for a Provincial Congress and in determining them to make use of the Assembly already elected for that purpose. The proceedings of the various County Conventions, in the fall of 1774, are collated in Lincoln's Journals of the Provincial Congress, but apparently they are not given in full there. For a discussion of this question, the reader is referred to Vol. I., *Transactions Colonial Society of Mass.*, pp. 163 *et seq.* By meeting at Salem and adjourning to Concord as they did, the Assembly complied with the recommendations of the different conventions, and thus had an expression of popular approval behind them. This was not, however, the full equivalent of a specific election to a provincial congress.

²*Journals of the Provincial Congress of Mass. Bay*, p. 73.

³The charter provided that the Governor should convene the General Court on the last Wednesday of May each year.

⁴*Journals of the Provincial Congress of Mass. Bay*, p. 116.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 192. ⁶*Ibid.*, p. 196.

the first provincial congress, as a representative assemblage, stands upon a different footing from the second and the third. The steps taken in assumption of the powers of government originated within itself. Although an elective body of legislators, the members had not been chosen to serve in a provincial congress. With the second and third congresses the case was different. The delegates were elected by the people to represent them specifically in this way. This difference is fundamental, and would justify the consideration of these congresses in two classes; the one self-created, the other deriving its origin from the people. For our purposes, however, we may treat all three as one stage in the process of the evolution of the state.

The first provincial congress, when it severed its connection with the administration of General Gage, very soon found that it was incurring expenses without funds at command to meet them. It was known that the assessors, constables and collectors outside Boston were generally in sympathy with the movement in opposition to Gage and it was hoped that through them the needed funds could be obtained. A tax had been laid at the regular session of the assembly which was not yet collected. The assessors were, therefore, instructed to go ahead with the assessment. A receiver-general was elected and constables and collectors were urged to turn over to him public moneys then in hand or which should thereafter be received by them. From time to time efforts were made to compel these officers to comply with these requests, but that there was some reluctance on their part to do so may be inferred from the statement of the receiver-general on the twenty-fifth of April, 1775,¹ that he had received only £5000 where £20,000 was due. During the brief career of these congresses no direct tax was levied. They were not only without executive head, but they also lacked

¹ *Journals of the Provincial Congress of Mass. Bay.* p. 151.

the support of a council. For a time indeed it was thought possible that there might be another session of the general court, but the events which occurred on the 19th of April dissipated that expectation. They were, nevertheless, compelled to go ahead and incur debts, which in the course of time had to be met. The first congress made no effort to procure funds outside those remitted to the receiver-general in response to the call upon the collectors of taxes, but on the third day of May, 1775, the second congress voted to borrow £100,000 lawful money¹ and appealed to the continental congress to recommend the several colonies to give currency to the securities on which this sum should be raised. The form of note then prescribed was a promise in the name of "the colony,"² which was payable in June, 1777, in silver or gold with interest at six per cent. A minimum limit³ of £4 was set for the notes. May twenty-fifth,⁴ the provincial congress issued an appeal addressed to the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay to subscribe for these securities.

On the twentieth of May,⁵ funds being required for the advance pay for the army, it was voted to issue a sum not exceeding £26,000 in notes of a new form and of the following denominations: 20s., 18s., 16s., 15s., 14s., 12s., 10s., 9s., and 6s. The notes were dated May twenty-fifth, 1775, and the form was a mere certificate that the possessor was entitled to receive from the treasury of "the colony" the designated sum in lawful money, May twenty-fifth, 1776, with interest at six per cent., the note

¹ Journals of the Provincial Congress of Mass. Bay, pp. 185, 186. In regard to this loan the Council in a message to the House, in 1776, said: "The Treasurer in May, 1775, was directed by this State to borrow the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, lawful money, about seventy-five thousand of which he actually did borrow." Records of the Council quoted in *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V. p. 668.

² In the 5th Volume of the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Mass. Bay*, pp. 505, 506, 507, Mr. Goodell gives a clear account of these transactions and explains why "Colony" was used instead of "Province."

³ Journals of the Provincial Congress of Mass. Bay, p. 187.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁵ Journals of the Provincial Congress of Mass. Bay, p. 246.

in the meantime being receivable in all payments at the treasury, for its face value, without interest. It was provided that the notes should circulate in "the colony" without discount or abatement.

Twenty-five thousand nine hundred ninety-eight pounds were then printed from the plates prepared for this emission, and July seventh an additional sum of four thousand and two pounds, making in all thirty thousand pounds of these small notes. Three plates were prepared for this emission, each having thereon engraved bills amounting to forty shillings. They were divided as follows:¹ 1st plate, 10s., 18s., 12s.; 2nd plate, 16s., 15s., 9s.; 3rd plate, 20s., 14s., 6s.;² 5000 impressions from each plate being required to produce the £30,000. July first, 1775, Paul Revere was allowed fifty pounds "for procuring and engraving four plates and printing 14,500 impressions of colony notes." The fourth plate must have been that from which the notes for the £100,000 loan were impressed.

June fifth, 1775,³ a committee was appointed "to bring in a resolve for the purpose of giving a credit to the bills of all the governments on the continent." On the twenty-eighth of June a resolve was passed, making the notes and bills of this and the other colonies of the continent, except Nova Scotia and Canada, a legal tender. Thus was the way made easy for a new régime of paper money, toward which the provincial congress had nominally contributed,⁴ when it was dissolved July nineteenth, £130,000, all in the form of interest-bearing securities payable in 1776 and 1777, £100,000 in notes of £4 and upward, to be paid in silver and £30,000 in small notes payable in lawful money. The £30,000 was obviously intended for

¹ *Journals of the Provincial Congress of Mass. Bay*, p. 464.

² The reference in the *Journals*, etc., p. 297, to the plate containing the \$20, \$14 and \$6 notes is obviously a misprint or a clerical error. The plate must have been the 3rd Plate.

³ *Journals of the Provincial Congress of Mass. Bay*, p. 299.

⁴ Attention has already been called to the fact that the receiver-general apparently received only £75,000 from the £100,000 loan.

local circulation, and it may be inferred from the appeal to the continental congress, May third, for aid in obtaining circulation for the securities of the colony, that the £4 notes also, notwithstanding their form, were expected to find some sort of circulation. The debt thus incurred was assumed by the new government, which took charge of affairs when the third provincial congress dissolved.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

(At first Colony, then State.)

May sixteenth¹ in the days of the second provincial congress an application had been made to the continental congress for "advice respecting the taking up and exercising the powers of civil government." The answer which was communicated to the third congress suggested that a call should be made upon the inhabitants to elect representatives to an assembly; that the representatives thus chosen should elect councillors, and that the council and the house should exercise the powers of government.² Pursuant to these suggestions a new government styled a General Assembly, or General Court, still without an executive officer at the head, was inaugurated July nineteenth on the dissolution of the third Congress. It must be borne in mind that the Charter of 1691³ made the council the executive head of the government in case of a vacancy in the offices of both governor and lieutenant-governor. Moreover, this contingency had occurred, in 1714, when by failure to appoint a new governor within six months after the death of Queen Anne, Dudley's commission became void, and his council, for a few weeks, assumed charge of the government.⁴

¹ Journals of the Provincial Congress of Mass. Bay, p. 280.

² *Ibid.*, p. 359.

³ Acts and Resolves of the Prov. of Mass. Bay, Vol. I., p. 19.

⁴ Hutchinson's History of Mass., Vol. II., p. 191. Palfrey's History of New England, Vol. IV., p. 339.

Again, when Lieutenant-Governor Phipps died in 1757, the council, for a short time, acted, as Hutchinson¹ phrases it, "in a two-fold capacity, as governor, and as the second branch of the legislature," pending the arrival of Governor Pownall. Thus, it will be seen that, whatever the disadvantages of this form of government, it was not entirely new to the people of Massachusetts.

The first act of the "Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled" was to confirm the doings of the provincial congresses; the second was to respond to a suggestion of the committee of safety,² July sixth, 1775, and to provide that there should be forthwith stamped on copper plates bills of credit of the colony to the amount of £100,000 in sixteen different denominational values, running from one shilling to forty shillings.³ The form of the bill of credit then emitted was in the nature of a certificate that the possessor would be paid the designated sum in lawful money and that the bill would be received in all payments. The bills of this issue were to be retired according to their terms, £40,000 in 1778, £30,000 in 1779 and £30,000 in 1780.

The action of the assembly in returning to the methods of the first half of the century and in the face of their recent experience, emitting bills of public credit⁴ secured by the pledge of a future tax would be inexplicable if the situation of affairs were not borne in mind. It must be remembered, however, that as yet no tax-levy had been made by the new government; that Boston, the most important source of revenue, was in the hands of the English and that elsewhere in the colony, the uncertainty and

¹ Hutchinson's *History of Mass.*, Vol. III., p. 52.

² *Journals of the Provincial Congress of Mass. Bay*, pp. 588, 589.

³ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. IV., p. 416. In signing these bills red, blue and black ink was ordered to be used. *Council Records* quoted in *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V., p. 509.

⁴ There is one difference between these bills and the bills of public credit emitted by the Province. Instead of being drawn up in the form of irredeemable due bills, they contained a statement that by a given day the possessor should be paid.

disturbance caused by the collision with the crown, made it impossible to estimate closely the amount to be expected from such a levy. Moreover, the continental congress had settled the question as to the manner in which their own debts were to be met by making an emission of continental currency on the twenty-second of June. If the thought had been entertained in Massachusetts of relying upon taxation and loans for supplies for the treasury the obligation to support these bills would have compelled the colony or state to accept a currency medium and to abandon all hopes of maintaining a specie basis.

It would be a hopeless task to undertake a detailed analysis of the vast mass of material bearing upon the course taken by the general assembly in connection with the emission and retirement of these bills of public credit, or to attempt to account for the action of the various committees and public officers in their loyal efforts to sustain the credit of the continental congress. Mr. Goodell, with wonderful patience and industry, has collated in the notes to the chapters in the province laws devoted to the legislation of this period, copious extracts from the journals of congress; from the journals of the house; and from the council records; reports of committees from the archives; and explanatory matter from newspapers,—in short, just what is required to comprehend the motives which prompted action from day to day. These notes separately published would make a good-sized volume. To them one can turn for an explanation of the legislation, if the preambles of the acts do not furnish a satisfactory clue.

In 1775,¹ there were two emissions by the general assembly of bills of public credit of "the colony," £100,000 August twenty-third, £75,000 December twenty-second, each set being in sixteen denominations, the first running from 1s. to 40s., the second from 8d. to 48s. The bills were

¹ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay.* Vol. V., pp. 416 and 442.

to be received in all payments without discount or abatement. This practically should have made them a legal tender, but if doubts existed on the subject, they were cured in April, 1776,¹ by a section in the "Act to prevent the forging and altering bills of public credit, and for preventing the depreciation thereof and for making the bills of credit of the United Colonies and of this government a legal tender." The penalties for forging and altering and for receiving for a less sum than expressed in the bill, covered the emissions of the other colonies as well, but only the bills of the United Colonies and of this government were made a legal tender. By resolve of the provincial congress, already quoted, the bills of the other colonies had been made a legal tender. This resolve had been ratified by the present government. The legislation above referred to evidently was intended to discriminate against the legal tender function of the bills of other colonies, but it did not in words repeal the legislation which seemed by its terms to convey the same power to them. This was, however, specifically accomplished May sixth, 1777,² when it was enacted that after July first next ensuing, no other bills than those of the United States and of this government should be a legal tender and the resolve of the Provincial Congress, making other bills a tender, was specifically repealed.

June twenty-first, 1776,³ a third emission of "Colony" bills was made. £100,000 were "printed" in twenty-four denominations, running from threepence to forty-eight shillings. The form was new and stated that the bearer was entitled to receive by a certain date the designated sum in "lawful money." The bills were to be retired in 1778 and 1779, and they were given the legal tender function. Bills of the United Colonies and of this government were the only bills which could be received by collectors

¹ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay.* Vol. V., p. 472. ² *Ibid.*, p. 640.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 547.

of taxes in payment for the tax pledged as a fund for the retirement of these bills.

After the Declaration of Independence the word "State" was substituted in the bills for "Colony." Funds were prescribed in each act, providing for the emission of bills, and both the legal tender clause and the discrimination against bills of other colonies in the description of bills to be received in the taxes laid for funds were also as a rule, repeated.

All the bills were made payable in lawful money. The emissions in 1776 were, £50,004, September 16th;¹ £50,004, October 29th;² £20,034 December 6th;³ all to be retired in 1781; and £75,000, December 7th⁴ to be retired in 1784. The word "dollars" appears in this last series, for the first time, upon the bills of public credit. This was the last emission of bills of public credit of upwards of six shillings in denominational value. Nearly two years after this, October thirteenth, 1778,⁵ an emission was made of small bills for the purpose of replacing by exchange the tattered fractional currency then in circulation. Twenty-eight thousand pounds small bills, of twelve denominations running from twopence to four shillings sixpence, were ordered to be struck off from the plates of the last previous emission. These were by their terms to be retired in 1784. Eight thousand only were emitted, when the assembly became impatient and on the twenty-sixth of January, 1779,⁶ ordered the remaining £20,000 to be printed. A new form was used for this £20,000. The bills ran in twelve denominations, from one shilling to five shillings sixpence and were by their terms to be retired in 1782.

The reason for the stoppage of the emissions was to be found in the proceedings of the general assemblies of the New England States and of the continental congress. December twenty-fifth, 1776,⁷ a committee appointed by

¹ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V., p. 559. ² *Ibid.*, p. 589.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 606. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 610. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 906. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 921. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 669.

the assembly met, in conference in Providence, similar committees sent by New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The Massachusetts committee was originally appointed to discuss what could be done to support the credit of the paper currencies in circulation and to control further emissions. The committee was afterward empowered to consider the subject of regulating embargoes and the price of goods. The "Act to prevent Monopoly and Oppression" passed January twenty-fifth, 1777,¹ embodies their report on the second part of their duties. So far as bills of public credit were concerned, they recommended² that the several states should desist from further emissions, should retire the bills already emitted, and should in future rely upon taxes and borrowings for terms not exceeding three years with interest not exceeding five per cent. In case of extreme emergency, the state was to reserve the right to emit bills bearing four per cent. interest, redeemable in three years or sooner. February fifteenth, congress by resolve disapproved of the interest-bearing bills, but otherwise commended the proposed action of the New England states. A new conference of committees from the same states to consider the same subjects was held at Springfield, July 30th,³ at which New York was also represented. This conference reported that the quantity of bills in circulation was excessive; that the bills of the several states and of the United States tended mutually to depreciate each other, and recommended that the several states should draw in their bills of public credit, except those of denominations below one dollar, and prohibit their further circulation after a fixed date. This proposition being submitted to the general court of Massachusetts, it was found that there was then⁴ outstanding £470,042 in bills of public credit not bearing interest, of which £30,962

¹ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V., p. 583. Amended May 10. *Ibid.*, p. 642. Repealed October 13th. *Ibid.*, p. 733. ² *Ibid.*, p. 813. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 814.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 815.

12s. 8d. were for sums less than one dollar. On the thirteenth of October,¹ an act was passed, calling in all the Massachusetts bills of credit not on interest, those emitted for small change excepted, and providing for the emission of £400,000 in interest-bearing notes of ten pounds and upwards, payable in 1781 and 1782, for purposes of exchange. Possessors were to have until January first, 1778,² to effect the exchange, but after December first, it was made illegal to pass any bill of any of the states, in any payment whatsoever, except the interest-bearing notes of this state. After the first of December, continental bills and Massachusetts interest-bearing notes were alone to constitute the currency of the state. The passage of this act produced a whirlwind of excitement and the assembly was overwhelmed with remonstrances from the towns.³ An address to the inhabitants of the state was prepared and after adoption by the representatives, a printed copy was sent to the selectmen of each town. This address, although rather lengthy, was an able discussion of the situation and pointed out in a convincing manner the futility of the objections which were interposed against this legislation.

November twenty-second, congress approved the example of Massachusetts and recommended the other states to pursue the same course.

When this act was passed there were in circulation £439,079 12s. 8d. in non-interest-bearing bills, in denominations above the sum of one dollar. June ninth, 1779, a committee reported that under the provisions of the

¹ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V., p. 734.

² The time for exchanging these bills was repeatedly extended, the last period fixed being August, 1779.

³ One of the arguments against the transaction was, that it would be better to arrange for raising the money by a series of tax acts, rather than to burden the country with interest. To meet this proposition, towns having the ability to raise the required sum by taxation were authorized to do so. The sum raised could be converted into a Treasurer's note, which the town could hold, and thus avoid the burden of interest money. *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V., p. 760.

act £337,378 15s. in interest-bearing notes had been emitted and that £337,249 19s. exchanged bills had been actually burned.

Up to that time there had been borrowed by the state on these interest-bearing notes, £606,400, of which £556,400 was still outstanding, £50,000 of which did not mature until May, 1782. Most of these notes were for ten pounds and upwards and all bore interest at six per cent. It is true that the first two loans were put out at five per cent., but by subsequent legislation the holders were given the benefit of the higher rate. Adding the £337,378, the amount of the notes given in exchange for the bills of public credit, there was outstanding in interest-bearing notes after this transaction, £893,778, which at the discount imputed to the notes in the scale of depreciation afterwards adopted made the silver value of the debt in October, 1777,¹ £325,010. This is based upon the assumption that the notes must practically have shared the degradation of the continental bills. The interest-bearing clause helped them somewhat, but with an allowance for accrued interest, their quotation must have been the same.

From that date to May third, 1780, £1,847,850 were emitted of these notes. This does not include the notes issued January thirteenth, 1780,² for the balance due the state's quota in the continental army, for which taxes, amounting to £8,000,000 collectible in 1781-2-3-4-5, were pledged as funds. The notes for this emission³ were drawn up in a special form with intent to make good to the officers and soldiers, the wages first promised them, regardless of the past depreciation of the currency or of any that might take place thereafter. To cover the question there was incorporated in the notes a clause through which the value was to be determined by taking for a

¹ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay.*, Vol. V., p. 1413.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1133. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 1287.

measure the prices affixed in the Monopoly Act of 1777, to Indian corn, beef, sheep's wool and sole leather.

Methods were regulated for determining on this basis from time to time the relation of the currency to this standard. A clause in the form shows that when the notes were originally emitted, the current prices of the named articles were thirty-two and one-half times what they were when the Monopoly Act was passed. If the £8,000,000 in funds represents the currency which was required to settle these balances, the actual amount involved in this transaction, on the basis of thirty-two and one-half for one, was £246,154. On the third of May, when the last emission of these currency notes was made, the state stood pledged to redeem £11,442,628, besides £28,000 in small change still in circulation, but at the ratio of forty for one, the recognized depreciation at that time, this represented only £286,740.

May fifth, 1780, an act was passed in pursuance of a recommendation of congress, the purpose of which was to retire the state's quota of continental bills and furnish a new currency in place thereof. The state had yielded to congress the entire field in which to circulate its emissions of paper money and had retired its own bills of public credit. The emissions of the continental congress, never fully trusted, had fallen with each resort to the printing press until they were now admittedly worth only forty for one in silver. Having no power to raise money by taxation, congress had emitted these bills and had from time to time called upon the several states to retire by taxation certain amounts assigned to each.

In 1775, Massachusetts was asked to care for \$434,244¹ in four equal annual payments commencing November, 1779. In 1777,² the amount to be raised for congress during the year was \$820,000. In 1779,³ the quota was

¹ *Financial History of the United States*, Bolles, p. 40.

² *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V., p. 850. ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 933, 1034.

fixed in January at \$2,000,000, but in May,¹ congress called for an additional tax of \$6,000,000, and in October² a monthly assessment of \$2,300,000 to be remitted for nine months, was called for.

The first of the monthly assessments was to be paid in February.³ On the twenty-third of that month congress resolved to relinquish two-thirds of the quotas, but on the eighteenth of March voted to restore the full amount and to continue the assessments until April, 1781. In this resolve congress stated that the bills were depreciated thirty-nine fortieths of their face value and provided that silver or gold would be received in payment of the quotas on the basis of one for forty. The extraordinary monthly assessment of fifteen million dollars on all the states was for the purpose of retiring the discredited currency, the maximum limit of which had been fixed at \$200,000,000. In place of continental bills it was proposed that the states should emit interest-bearing notes payable within six years, in silver, at five per cent. These were to be guaranteed by the United States and were to be secured by taxes pledged as annual funds for six years, each of one-sixth the total amount. For every twenty retired of the old, one of the new was to be issued, six-tenths for the use of the state, four-tenths for the United States.

The act of May fifth, 1780, referred to above, was for the purpose of carrying out the foregoing recommendations. A tax was granted amounting to £5,600,000, or \$18,666,666, which with a previous tax of the same session, would, it was averred, provide for the state's quota of the currency to be retired. This tax could be paid in silver, gold, or the new bills. Continental bills would be received at the rate of forty for one. Four hundred and sixty thousand pounds were ordered to be emitted in bills of the character above described, for the redemption of which certain

¹ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V., p. 1079. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 1137, 1295.
³ *Ibid.*, p. 1330.

future taxes, payable only in coin or certain produce, were ordered to be levied.

The tax for the retirement of the state's quota of the continental bills, amounting in round numbers to five million six hundred thousand pounds, was levied May fifth, 1780.¹ Collectors were authorized to receive one dollar in specie or one dollar of the new bills on interest in lieu of forty dollars of the bills then in circulation. The next tax, which was levied June fifth, for current state expenditures, was made payable in gold or silver coin, in bullion, or in certain articles at specified prices. On the twenty-ninth of September,² the Depreciation Act was passed. The preamble asserted that this was done in response to a recommendation of congress to the states, to revise the laws making continental bills a tender, and to amend them in the manner most conducive to justice, considering the present state of the paper currency. The scale ran from 105 currency for 100 in coin, January, 1777, to 4,000 currency for 100 in coin, April, 1780. As a matter of fact the resolve of congress in March, 1780, fixing the depreciation at that time at forty for one, had so completely undermined confidence in the bills that from that time on, no measure of their depreciation can be ascertained which can be regarded as accurate.³

The last act⁴ published in the edition of the laws, known as the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, is a tax levy, of date of September thirtieth, of the same amount, character and purpose as that of May fifth,

¹ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V., p. 1202. ² *Ibid.*, p. 1412.

³ House Document No. 107, 20th Congress, Washington, 1828, contains a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting information relative to the amount of the Continental money and the depreciation of the same. The tables of depreciation for the several states, show wide differences. In Massachusetts the last date given is June, 1781, when the depreciation was given as 100 for 1. In New Jersey it was 150 for 1, in May, 1781. In Pennsylvania 225 for 1, in May, 1781. In Virginia 1000 for 1, in December, 1781. In North Carolina 725 for 1, in December, 1781.

⁴ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V., p. 1421.

1780. The final effort of the general assembly—state—was in support of the confederation.

There was one lottery, at least, created by the assembly which was connected with our subject. It was established by resolve and not by act, but we are put upon the track of it in the preambles to acts for the emission of notes to meet the prizes which had been awarded. The resolve of the general court establishing it was passed May first, 1778,¹ and the purpose was to raise \$750,000 for gratuities to officers and soldiers who had enlisted for three years in the continental army, before August fifteenth, 1777. In order to pay prizes of fifty dollars or upwards notes were emitted as follows: February eleventh, 1779, £21,450 for tickets of first class;² April fourteenth, £81,570 for tickets of the second and third classes;³ May third, 1780, £49,830 for tickets of the fourth class;⁴ in all £152,850, or \$509,500.⁵ The total number of tickets in the four schemes amounted to \$950,000 and the blanks were fifteen per cent. or \$143,000.

Reference has been made to the passage of the Act to prevent Monopoly and Oppression.⁶ Such acts as this are not directly in the line of our inquiry, but their passage indicates a condition of financial affairs and a stage of economic opinion which justifies, perhaps compels, their mention. The failure to limit prices by means of the act referred to led to the passage, February eighth, 1779,⁷

¹ Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay, Vol. V., p. 983. ² *Ibid.*, p. 929.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 959. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1193. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1363 *et seq.* ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 583.

⁷ Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay, Vol. V., p. 924; p. 1118; p. 1397. Reference has been made to the Conferences of Commissioners from States at Providence and at Springfield. At the suggestion of Congress a conference of Commissioners from all the Northern States was held at New Haven in January, 1778. The Commissioners reported a scale of prices for labor, produce and manufactures which was adopted promptly by several states, but was still under consideration in Massachusetts, when in June, 1778, Congress recommended the states that had adopted it to repeal the laws passed for that purpose. The legislation against forestalling was brought about by a recommendation from Congress, and although it did not trespass upon the laws of trade in the same way as the Act against Monopoly and Oppression and the Report of the Commissioners, still it was incapable of general enforcement. See Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay, Vol. V., p. 1012.

of a temporary "Act to prevent Monopoly and Forestalling," the time limit of which was twice extended. This act was directed against speculation in food. June twenty-fourth, 1779,¹ an act was passed the purpose of which was to compel those who had more of the necessities of life than they needed for their families to sell them to those that were in want of them, and to receive in payment therefor continental bills, if offered.

September twenty-third, 1779,² under title of an act to prevent sundry articles being exported from this to the neighboring states, a temporary interstate embargo was laid on provisions of all sorts and on many other specified articles. This was enlarged in its scope by another act passed in October of the same year.³

In December, 1779, it was voted to send some suitable person to negotiate a loan in Europe, and in January, 1780, Jonathan Loring Austin was appointed for that purpose. Austin sailed for Bilboa, Spain, in the latter part of the same month, was captured by the English, taken to London and shortly thereafter was released, there being no evidence at hand against him. He proceeded to the continent, but, although he remained abroad upward

¹ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V., p. 1073. ² *Ibid.*, p. 1114.

³ *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V., p. 1116. This was the last stage of the struggle against the rise in prices caused by the depreciated currency. A Convention was held in Concord, July 14th, 1779, which passed resolves for the purpose of appreciating the currency and lowering the prices of articles of consumption. They projected a scale for the limitation of prices, which was approved by the Assembly, but which could not then be put in force because the Assembly had in June resolved to lay an embargo on food, a method of procedure inconsistent with the co-operation with other States required to make the limitations effective. A Convention of Commissioners of the N. E. States and New York was called at Hartford, October 20th. This Convention favored the limitation, but believed that all States as far westward as Virginia ought to join. The repeal of the Embargo Act was recommended. Congress, in November, approved the doings of the Hartford Convention and recommended the several States to pass laws for a general limitation of prices. The Hartford Convention gave birth to a more general Convention held at Philadelphia, in January, which passed resolves. Complete co-operation was difficult to secure, but June 17th, 1780, these Embargo Acts were repealed by Massachusetts. *Acts and Resolves Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V., p. 1253 *et seq.*

of a year, he was unable to accomplish the purpose for which he was appointed.

In order to establish a credit upon which Austin could operate, a future tax was granted January eleventh, 1780, to be paid in bills of continental currency, equal in value to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. This was to be collected in such a way as seasonably to discharge the loan, but, as the loan was never obtained, the tax act merely stands as evidence of the attempt to secure the loan.¹

THE COMMONWEALTH.

The borrowings from the people on short-term interest-bearing notes of small size did not cease with the change from the general assembly to the constitutional commonwealth in 1780. The great crisis in financial affairs was passed when the continental currency was discredited by the congress itself, and the attempt was made to secure its redemption by the states, on the basis of forty for one, but there still remained in the final days of the struggle much that was of interest. However valuable an investigation of these events might prove to be, the limits of this paper preclude their consideration today.

¹ *Acts and Resolves, Prov. Mass. Bay*, Vol. V., p. 1167.

A SCHEME FOR THE CONQUEST OF CANADA IN 1746.

BY VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

IN the acquisition of the vast domain of Canada, by the treaty of 1763, Great Britain and her American colonists realized a hope long cherished. The proximity of the Canadians to the borders of New England and New York in particular, together with the French influence over the frontier Indians, had always been considered pernicious to the interests of these English colonies and threatened their ultimate destruction, unless "some method were found to remove so bad a neighbour."¹ The reduction of this "thorn in the sides" of the neighboring English colonies had been attempted, therefore, in 1690, under Sir William Phips, and in 1711, under Sir Hovenden Walker. Phips's expedition was an expensive undertaking; cost the province of Massachusetts Bay alone above fifty thousand pounds; wrought death among many of her chosen young men, by a malignant fever that raged in the camp, and ended ingloriously. The Bay government did not for some years recover from the shock. Walker's expedition was entered into with cheerfulness by the colonists, but it, too, proved a fiasco. Apart from the cost of expeditions in time of war, the garrisoning of the frontiers involved a great annual outlay. Jeremy Dummer, in 1712, estimated the cost to Massachusetts for this maintenance as "Thirty Thousand Pounds *communibus annis*,"² which would be spared, he said, if Canada were wrested from the French.

¹ *Mass. Court Records*, Series 17, Vol. V., p. 499. In Mass. State House, copied from Public Record Office, London. ² *Mass. Court Records*, Idem, p. 501.

From the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, until the open rupture in 1744, a nominal peace reigned. The declaration of war between Great Britain and France in the latter year equally involved their colonial possessions in conflict. On June 17th, 1745, Louisburg, the richest American jewel that had ever adorned the French crown, capitulated to the daring of the New Englanders under General William Pepperrell, aided by a fleet commanded by Commodore Peter Warren. The successful issue of this enterprise gave the English entire command of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and thus enabled them to cut off Quebec from all hope of succor from France. It also facilitated the conquest of Canada itself.¹ The victory was hailed with acclamation throughout the colonies, and a hope was expressed that no peace negotiations should ever be set on foot with France in which the restoration of Cape Breton should as much as be mentioned.²

The Canadians were apprehensive of a British invasion, but made vigorous preparations to repress it. They learned the English plans by means of scouting parties, from the English prints, and more particularly from the English colonists captured on the frontiers by their various incursions, and whom they held in confinement at Quebec.³ While the English colonial governments were engaged in promoting levies, the Canadians sent a large detachment, of two thousand men,⁴ to take possession of the Acadian settlements in Nova Scotia, and succeeded in cutting off Governor Mascarene at Annapolis Royal from receiving intelligence for a period of six weeks. In France a formi-

¹ *Memoirs of the Principal Transactions of the Last War.* Third edition, Boston, 1758, p. 33.

² Parker's *New York Post-Boy*, No. 164, for March 10th, 1746. The article itself is dated December 28th, 1745.

³ The whole subject of rumors and French anticipatory action can be studied from *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, Vol. X.; and *Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr.*, New York, 1896.

⁴ Mascarene to Duke of Newcastle, November 12th, 1746. In *Chalmers's Papers relating to Canada*, in New York Public Library.

dable squadron was mobilized at Brest, under command of the Duke d'Anville, consisting of eleven ships of the line, three frigates, three fireships, and two bombs, having on board 6,186 sailors; also twenty privateers, and other vessels of from ten to twenty-four guns each, which were also joined by fifty-six sail of transports, laden with stores and provisions, and two tenders with artillery. "The whole fleet consisted of ninety-seven sail, having on board the two battalions of the regiment Ponthieu, the battalion militia of Saumur, the battalion of Fontenoy le Comte and a battalion of marines, in all 3,500 men, with 40,000 small arms," as well as equipment for the Canadians and Indians, who were expected to join them.¹ The Brest fleet was designed to reduce the English fort of Annapolis Royal and to recover Louisburg. Grave rumors were rife in New England that a descent would also be made upon Boston. D'Anville was heading for Nova Scotia, when a gale and thick fog separated his ships off Sable Island. Disaster followed in their track, and of the whole fleet of ninety-seven sail only fifty-six remained.² D'Anville died of apoplexy, his vice-admiral committed suicide, smallpox caused great mortality among the soldiers and seamen, the purpose of the enterprise was abandoned, and thus France was balked in her greatest naval expedition to the coast of North America.

In the English-American provinces an expedition against Canada was looked upon by some as a chance for "fine plundering"; while to others it appeared to afford advantages "inconceivably great to the Crown of Britain."³ Indeed, the original suggestions of October, 1745, comprehended the enlistment of 20,000 provincials, who should be offered, as an inducement, "the plunder of the country;

¹ Rolt's *Impartial Representation*, Vol. IV. (London, 1750), pp. 247, 348.

² For the details of this fleet consult Rolt, Vol. IV., pp. 346-352; a good modern account, varying somewhat from Rolt, is by Harry Piers, in *Canadian History Readings*. St. John, N. B., 1900, pp. 68-74.

³ *Post-Boy*, No. 178, for June 16th, 1746. ⁴ *Idem*, No. 173, for May 12th, 1746.

as well as the land of the Canadians." In official quarters—and none the less among the populace—it was judged that the acquisition of Canada would secure the fish and fur trade, deprive the French of provisions and lumber for their sugar islands, greatly diminish the trade of France, secure the English possessions in America—hitherto greatly incommoded, and put a halt to the building of French war vessels, then carried on in Canada.¹ Governor William Shirley, in his speech to the Council and House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay, June 28th, 1746, told them it was but folly to consider Nova Scotia in security so long as the French continued to be masters of Canada. In the loss of that province he discerned the most fatal consequences to Massachusetts "and all His Majesty's Colonies on the Northern Continent of America."² He but spoke the truth from a bitter experience.

Soon after the conquest of Louisburg, Shirley was called there to quell the discontent which had arisen among the provincials. His mission accomplished, he returned to Boston early in December, 1745. But while at Louisburg he had concerted measures with Pepperrell and Warren, for an expedition against Canada the following year. The project was communicated to the Duke of Bedford, then at the head of the admiralty, and was well received.

The fighting strength of all Canada, according to the best available information, was judged not to exceed 12,000 men, inclusive of the regulars; and the resident Indian allies were computed to be about 900.³ The winter of 1745-1746, intervened. On March 14th, 1746, the Duke of Newcastle wrote to the various American governors, that "should it be judged advisable to undertake any attempt upon the French settlements in the New World, they should take the proper measures for raising

¹ *Chalmers's Papers, Canada.*

² *Journal of the Representatives of Mass. Bay, 1746*, p. 71; also the same in *Mass. Court Records*, Series 17, Vol. V., p. 501.

³ *Memoirs of Last War*, p. 60.

a body of men for that purpose."¹ This was but the suggestion of a fact soon to follow.

It is worth while to digress here, in order to observe the environment in England in which the plans for the expedition against Canada were matured. Thomas Pelham was nominally prime minister, but the parliamentary influence and superior rank of his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, placed him practically on an equality in the cabinet. The broil of English politics was hot in the cauldron. On February 11th, 1746, Pelham had resigned, but was reinstated on the 14th of that month, after Granville and Bath had failed to form an administration. This brought the two brothers, with their retinue of followers, back with increased power. "Pelham was a timid and peace-loving politician, without any commanding abilities or much strength of character."² Lecky aptly remarks, that "the Pelham Government, though unsuccessful abroad, had acquired a complete ascendancy at home. The martial enthusiasm of the country had gone down, and public opinion being gratified by the successive deposition of Walpole and of Carteret, and being no longer stimulated by a powerful opposition, acquiesced languidly in the course of events. The King for a time chafed bitterly against the yoke. He had been thwarted in his favourite German policy, deprived of the minister who was beyond comparison the most pleasing to him, and compelled to accept others in whom he had no confidence. He despised and disliked Newcastle. He hated Chesterfield, whom he was compelled to admit to office, and he was especially indignant with Pitt, . . . whose claims to office Pelham was continually urging."³ The perplexed monarch endeavored to extricate himself from his embarrassments, but was immediately frustrated. England had for years

¹ *Chalmers's Papers, Canada.*

² G. F. Russell Barker, in *Dict. of Nat. Biography.* Pelham died at London, March 6th, 1754, and was succeeded by Newcastle.

³ Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I., p. 423.

scattered through Europe great subsidies, which increased her debt and impaired her prosperity, without signalizing any particular advantage.¹ Newcastle then, as later when he was prime minister, was "the most remarkable instance on record in which, under the old system, great possessions and family and parliamentary influence could place and maintain an incapable man" in office.² "George II. complained that he was unfit to be Chamberlain to the smallest Court in Germany, and he was the object of more ridicule than any other politician of his time; but yet for forty-six years he held high posts at the Court or in the Government. For nearly thirty years he was Secretary of State; for ten years he was First Lord of the Treasury.

. . . Intellectually he was probably below the average of men, and he rarely obtained full credit even for the small talents he possessed. He was the most peevish, restless and jealous of men, destitute not only of the higher gifts of statesmanship, but even of the most ordinary tact and method in the transaction of business, and at the same time so hurried and undignified in manner, so timid in danger, and so shuffling in difficulty, that he became the laughing-stock of all about him."³ . . . "At the same time, though a great corrupter of others, he was not himself corrupt,"⁴ presenting in his person a curious anomaly. Such was the statesman entrusted with the direct negotiations with America for the conquest of Canada

The apparent jealousy in England of the provincial prowess was expressed in the Duke of Bedford's written opinion of March, 1746. He said that no great reliance should be placed on the American troops, and feared, "after the experience we have had of them," "the Independence it may create in those Provinces toward their Mother Country when they shall see within themselves so great an Army possessed in their own Right by Conquest

¹ Lecky, Vol. I., pp. 427, 428. ² Lecky, Vol. II., p. 438.

³ Lecky, Vol. II., p. 439. ⁴ Lecky, Vol. II., p. 440.

of so great a Country.”¹ He, therefore, wished to place the chief dependence on the fleet and army to be sent from England, and to look upon the Americans as useful only when joined with them. Meanwhile, not waiting for further instructions from England, the Bay government appointed commissioners, on February 12th and 13th, who were to join with others at Albany, in a conference with the Six Nations of New York, to urge the participation of these Indians in the forthcoming project. The appointments, however, were not finally confirmed in Council until July 16th. They were Jacob Wendell, Samuel Welles, Thomas Hutchinson and John Stoddard. On July 18th, Oliver Partridge was appointed to succeed Hutchinson, “who excused himself from that service.”²

On April 9th, 1746, Newcastle despatched letters by the sloop of war *Hickingbrook*³ to the governors of all the provinces from New England to Virginia. The packet with the royal orders reached Governor Shirley on May 26th, and he immediately forwarded the documents to the different governments by land expresses. He evinced his own interest by his personal correspondence, in which he urged co-operation. He was very zealous for the cause, and hoped that the Massachusetts Bay government would set a good example to the others.⁴ The royal orders required the several governments to raise as large a body of men as the shortness of the time would warrant.⁵ The King did not limit the number of men for each province, neither did he require special allotments; but he hoped and expected that the united levies would not be less than five thousand.⁶

The scheme concerted in England varied very little from the suggestions which had been forwarded previously

¹ *Chalmers's Papers, Canada.*

² *Mass. Court Records*, Series 17, Vol. V., pp. 306, 311, 509, 521.

³ Also spelled *Hinchinbrook* in *Penn. Votes*, Vol. IV., (Phila., 1774), p. 37.

⁴ *Mass. Journal*, May 29th, 1746.

⁵ *Chalmers's Papers, Canada*, April 9th, 1746.

⁶ *Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass.*, Third edition, Vol. II., p. 381.

from America. It was agreed that the land forces should be commanded by Lieutenant-General James Sinclair,¹ while Rear-Admiral Warren was to look after the royal fleet. The plan of operations was not made irrevocable. Sinclair, Warren and Shirley were entrusted with such alterations as circumstances would require or good judgment might suggest. By the original instructions the companies raised in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia were to rendezvous at Albany. The command of this contingent was given to William Gooch, lieutenant-governor of Virginia; but he pleaded indisposition, and declined to serve. Governor George Clinton, of New York, who was virtually responsible for the success of this part of the plan, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel John Roberts as Gooch's successor.² From Albany these troops were to make a descent upon Montreal and lay waste the settlements on the upper St. Lawrence.

The provincials of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut were to rendezvous at Louisburg as soon as possible, where they were to await the arrival of General Sinclair, the eight battalions of regulars, and the fleet commanded by Warren. This was the main guard, which was charged with the capture of Quebec. While they proceeded up the St. Lawrence, the men at Albany were to march to Montreal. The blow was to be struck simultaneously. The plans were well laid, and gave every earnest of success.³

¹ Gen. James Sinclair (also written St. Clair), was the second son of Henry, eighth Lord Sinclair. He entered the army at an early age, and rose in the ranks, becoming lieutenant-general on June 4th, 1745, and had command of the British troops in Flanders, prior to his appointment for this Canadian expedition. He died on November 30th, 1762, while governor of Cork, Ireland.

² *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, Vol. VI., p. 314. Roberts was an experienced soldier, having served since the days of George I. He was also connected by his first marriage with the Earl of Halifax.

³ The material for a study of the scheme is ample. The chief sources are *Chalmers's Papers relating to Canada*, transcripts from original documents in the Public Record Office of England. These transcripts are now in the New York Public Library; *Memoirs of the Last War*, p. 61; Holt's *Impartial Representation*, Vol. IV. (London, 1750), pp. 345, 346; Hutchinson's *Hist. of Mass.*, Third edition, Vol.

So soon as the governors had received the Duke of Newcastle's instructions of April 9th, they convened their several councils and legislatures, and urged immediate action. The whole number of fighting men within the participating colonies aggregated 340,000.¹ It has already been observed that the packet from England reached Shirley on May 26th. He immediately communicated the correspondence to his House of Representatives, who on the 30th of the month passed the following vote, which was read and concurred in Council and consented to by Shirley that same day. The tenor of that vote was this:

"Whereas His Majesty has been pleased to resolve upon an Expedition against his enemies in Canada, which is apprehended to be of great importance to His Majestys subjects in Great Britain as well as America; and notwithstanding the great difficulties and charges to which this Province is exposed by reason of the numerous attacks made on all parts of our Frontiers, which burthens are made much heavier by coming immediately upon the loss of so great a number of men as were killed and died in the late expedition against Cape Breton; yet this House judge it to be their duty to contribute all in their power thereunto in humble confidence that as His Majesty has determined upon it and recommended it to his Excellency the Governor to raise what men he can in this Province, with transports & provisions suitable, the charge thereof will be reimbursed by the Crown, the Costs and Difficulties whereof would otherwise be insupportable:—

"Voted that there be granted as an Encouragement to a number of good and effective men not exceeding Three Thousand to enlist Voluntiers into His Majestys service in the said Expedition against Canada, as a Bounty, Thirty Pounds in Bills of Credit of the Old Tenour, and a Blanket, for each man, and a bed for every two men, the money to be paid upon Enlistment and the Blankets & Beds delivered on embarkation. That as soon as may be a sufficient quantity of provisions be secured and a suitable number of vessels for

II., pp. 380, 381; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, Vol. VI.; manuscripts in the *Mass. Archives*, preserved in the State House at Boston; and the printed *Votes, Journals and Records* of the several colonies engaged in the expedition.

¹ *Chalmers's Papers, Canada.* From a list sent by Shirley to Newcastle, in July, 1746, exhibiting the available fighting strength of the nine colonies engaged in the expedition, and showing how many men were voted and raised or nearly raised at that time.

Transports, as also a proper number of Chaplains, Physicians, and Surgeons, and a full supply of medicines, with all other conveniences for such as may be sick.

"Voted also, that His Excellency the Governor be requested, by Proclamation, to publish the above said Encouragements mentioned in His Grace the Duke of Newcastle's letter of the Ninth of April last."¹

On the same day the House voted and the Council concurred, "that His Excellency the Governor be desired to appoint a day of Fasting and Prayer to implore the Divine Presence and Blessing on the intended Expedition against Canada."² Sunday intervened. On the next day, June 2d, Shirley issued the following proclamation for raising troops, *viz.* :—

"By his Excellency WILLIAM SHIRLEY, Esq'. Captain General and Governour in chief, in & over his Majestys province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.

A PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS His Majesty has been graciously pleased to order a number of Troops under the Command of the Honourable Lieutenant General S^r Clair to proceed from Great Britain to Louisbourg, with a sufficient convoy of Men of War, and with them a great part of his Majestys Troops now in Garrison at Louisbourg, and also with such Troops as shall be Levied for that purpose in his Majestys Colonies in North America to attempt the immediate Reduction of Canada; and has signified his Royal pleasure to me, as also to the Governours of the several provinces & Colonies of Virginia, Maryland, Pensilvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticutt, Rhode Island & New Hampshire, by Letters dispatch'd from his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, That the necessary Dispositions should be forthwith made for the raising as many Men within this and the abovementioned Governments as the shortness of the time will admit for proceeding on the said Expedition.

"And Whereas the Great and General Court of this province have with the utmost Chearfulness and unanimity, Voted to give all necessary & proper Encouragement for Three Thousand

¹ *Mass. Court Records*, Series 17, Vol. V., pp. 426, 427.

² *Idem*, p. 428.

Voluntiers that shall enlist into his Majestys Service in this Expedition.

"In Obedience therefore to his Majestys said Commands

"I have thought fit with the Advice of his Majestys Council, to issue this Proclamation, in order to make known his Majestys gracious intentions & Declarations for the Encouragement of all able Bodied effective Men that are inclin'd to enlist themselves into his Service in the said Expedition, together with the further Encouragement which is offered by this Government viz^t. That the said Voluntiers will be under such Officers as I shall appoint. That they will be immediately intitled to his Majestys Pay, the Officers from the time they shall engage in his Majestys Service and the Soldiers from the respective days on which they shall be inlisted; That if provision cannot be made of Arms & Cloathing for them, by reason of the shortness of the time, a reasonable allowance will be made them in money for the same; That they shall be intitled to a share of the Booty that shall be taken from the Enemy & shall be sent back to their several Habitations when this Service shall be over, unless any of them shall desire to settle elsewhere. And for the further Encouragement of all Voluntiers that shall engage in this Service, It is provided That they shall recieve Thirty pounds in Bills of Credit of the old tenour, as a Bounty, as also for each Man a Blanket, & a Bed for every two Men; the said Bounty to be paid upon their Enlistment, and the Blankets & Beds at the time of their Embarkation or proceeding on the said Expedition: And that all such Voluntiers as shall proceed on this Expedition shall be Exempted from all Impresses for two Years after their Return.

"Given at the Council Chamber in Boston the second day of June 1746, in the Nineteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France & Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith &c.

W. SHIRLEY.

By order of his Excellency the Governour,
with the Advice of the Council,
J. WILLARD Sec'ry

God Save the King

A true Copy Examined ~~by~~ Sam Holbrook Dep. Sec'ry
[ENDORSED.]

"His Exc'y Gov^r. Shirley's Proclamation for raising
Troops for the intended Expedition ag^t. Canada
June 2^d. 1746.—" ¹

¹ Mass. Archives Vol. 72 (Military Series 6), pp. 718-720.

On June 3d a joint committee from the House of Representatives and the Council was chosen to provide "a sufficient quantity of Provisions, a suitable number of vessels for transports, as also a proper number of Chaplains, Physicians and Surgeons, and a full supply of medicines with all other conveniences for such as may be sick." It was also urged that in procuring the provisions and other necessities, the preference should be given to the produce of the Bay government. The House selected the Speaker and Messrs. Welles, Hubbard, Skinner, Hall, Russell, Thomas Foster, James Otis, Col. Heath, and Captains Pickman and Partridge, to whom the Council added John Osborne, Jacob Wendell, Thomas Berry, Samuel Watts, Ezekiel Chever, James Bowdoin, John Wheelwright and Andrew Oliver.¹ Acts for supplying the treasury with large sums of money were enacted in June.² But at first the House hesitated in this policy, until urged by Shirley in vigorous language. In his message of June 10th, referring to their vote "for staying any further proceedings in relation to the providing Transports and other necessities for the troops," he said, "Gentlemen, this last Vote seems to me to confound and frustrate all your former proceedings, unless you have some other practicable methods in view . . . than I am at present apprized of. You are sensible, Gentlemen, the Transports and Provisions must be had some way or other; and if there be any other way in which you expect they will be provided, I think it is fit I should know it. We have already lost much time by this interruption, and I desire we may now retrieve it, by the most vigorous proceedings; or else the most proper season for action will be irreparably lost."³ The objectionable "Order to the Committee of War above refer'd to, was withdrawn by the Direction of both Houses,

¹ *Mass. Court Records*, Series 17, Vol. V., pp. 430, 431.

² *Idem*, pp. 433, 435, 436, 442, 444, 456, 463.

³ *Mass. Court Records*, *idem*, pp. 445, 448.

and the Committee left to proceed according to their first Instructions."

On June 14th, the following message from the House was sent to Shirley by the hand of Samuel Adams and others, *viz.*:-

"May it please your Excellency.

"It being represented that divers Children under sixteen years of age have been received and allowed to enlist in the Expedition against Canada, by the Officers who have Beating Orders, this House have thought it their duty to lay this grievance before your Excellency. They look upon this practice with greater concern, because it not only brings great distress and difficulty on Parents and Masters, but it is apprehended to be likely to be very pernicious, and should it become general, must be fatal to the important enterprize they are designed to serve. We are persuaded these things are done without your Excellencys leave and knowledge; but as these complaints are become numerous and still increasing; We humbly request Your Excellencys interposition herein, that the Families to which such Children belong may live in quiet at home, & the Forces raising may go with strength and courage abroad."¹

To this complaint Shirley replied in a message, on June 21st, in which he recommended the appointment of a Muster Master for reviewing the troops, to prevent misapplication of the bounty and "ineffectiveness of those that are really enlisted."²

The wages of the officers of the transports were according to the following rates: for masters of double decked vessels, five pounds per month; for masters of single decked vessels four pounds, twelve shillings and sixpence; for mates, four pounds; and for boatswains and carpenters of double decked transports, three pounds, ten shillings per month.³

Each soldier was provided with a tin flask in which to carry water during marches, and was allowed for his billeting five shillings per week from the time of his enlistment

¹ *Mass. Court Records.* *idem*, pp. 464, 465. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 479, 480.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 524; *cf.* also with earlier vote, p. 490.

until August 6th, except for such time as he should be on the march, when he would be allowed eighteen pence per day, "accounting twenty miles for one days travel."¹

The provisions for transports and soldiers were ordered to be kept apart and to be distributed equally under particular supervision;² but the House unanimously non-concurred with the desire of the Council that "both Soldiers and Seamen be allowed Beer, Rum or Molasses, as will be most suitable to the season of the Year; and that the Committee of War provide accordingly." It is not clear whether ideas of economy or temperance were responsible for this ruffle of opposition.

On June 28th, 1746, Shirley delivered to both Houses his most important speech in connection with this affair, and after its conclusion the "Great and General Court or Assembly" was adjourned until July 15th. Although quotations from it have already been given, it is reproduced here in all of its original quaintness, and worthily exhibits the spirit of the times.

"Gentlemen of the Council & House of Representatives.

"The present necessary business of the Court being so far dispatched as to admit of a short Recess, I have thought proper to adjourn you for some time, that so the Committee of War may have more leisure to make needful preparations for the Expedition, and the rest of the Members an opportunity to encourage and promote the Levies for the same in their respective Counties; which I accordingly now recommend to you as a matter of the greatest importance to His Majestys service and the general advantage of His Colonies in North America, & to the future prosperity of this Province in particular.

"The near situation of the French to our borders, and their influence over the Indians have always been thought most pernicious to the interests of these Colonies and to threaten their final Destruction unless some method should be found to remove so bad a neighbour from us. And therefore in every war with that Nation some design has been laid and attempts made for compassing this end.

¹ *Mass. Court Records*, *idem*, p. 514. ² *Ibid.*, p. 491.

"To demonstrate this to you I need only transcribe the following extract from the late M^r. Agent Dummers letter upon that subject in 1712, in which he says,—'I am sure it has been the cry of the whole country ever since Canada was delivered up to the French, *Canada est delenda*; they always looked upon it as a Carthage to the Northern Colonies, which if they did not destroy it would in time destroy them. Of this they were so apprehensive in the year 1690, that they came unanimously into a great and expensive undertaking against it, under the command of Sir William Phips, but meeting with an unaccountable train of disappointments, returned without doing any thing. This enterprize cost the single Province of the Massachusetts Bay above fifty thousand pounds, which together with the loss of abundance of their chosen young men, by a malignant fever that raged in the Camp; and several disasters that happened in the way home, gave that Province so deep a wound that it did not recover itself in many years after. However about five years agoe observing their French neighbours to increase and grow more and more formidable every day, they resolved to make them an other visit; but not thinking themselves strong enough to deal with Canada, they were content only to make an attempt on Port Royal, which was accordingly done, but most unhappily miscarried. Yet, far from disheartened by these misfortunes when Her Majesty about three years after signified her gracious intentions to reduce Canada and desired them to get ready their Quots, it cann't be expressed with what chearfulness they came into it. They raised their men immediately, cloathed them handsomly and disciplined them for the service, and had laid up Magazines of provisions both for their own and the Queens Troops then shortly expected. And, altho the Court altered their measures, did not proceed on that design, yet the Colonies and particularly New England were at near the same charge as if they had. The next year they raised a body of Troops again, which commanded by Coll. Nicholson and joined by five hundred Auxiliaries from hence, made an other attack on Port Royal, and carried it, as every body knows. Thus that poor country, exhausted by so many (and all but one fruitless) enterprizes, besides the oppressions of a twenty years French and Indian War, that has lain heavy upon them, yet did this summer past furnish more than the Quota assigned them for this late fatal expedition. I shall add one thing more, that over and above these extraordinary articles, the standing yearly charge of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay to maintain their Barrier against the enemy, is Thirty Thousand Pounds com-

munibus annis, which they would be eased if Canada were taken.'

"Such, Gentlemen, have ever been the general sentiments and apprehensions of the People of New England concerning Canadas remaining in the hands of the French; and I may add to M^r. Dummers remarks, that we ought never to think His Majesty's possession of Nova Scotia in security, whilst the enemy is suffered to continue Masters of Canada; and should it ever be our misfortune to see that Province reduced by them and added to Canada, it requires no extraordinary share of penetration to discern what must be, in a short time, the fatal consequences to this and all His Majestys Colonies on the Northern Continent of America.

"Through the signal favour of Divine Providence to us, Annapolis Royal was indeed in the year immediately preceding the last, saved from falling into the enemys hands, and the last year the Fortress of Louisbourg with the Island of Cape Breton and its Dependencies reduced to the obedience of His Majesty: an atchivement worthy of the English name, and which must always be remembered to the lasting honour of the Province that undertook it, and of their troops which so bravely executed it; yet these are but single steps towards procuring the lasting Welfare & Tranquility of these Colonies. For since the reduction of Cape Breton, I suppose we have had greater numbers of Indians continually harrassing us in all parts of our Frontiers, and have been obliged to keep more men in pay for our defence, than at any other time in former wars; and the ravages and cruelties of the enemy in murthering & captivating our People, driving them from their Settlements, killing their Cattle, destroying some thousands of acres of Grain upon the ground, depopulating almost a whole Country in one of the neighbouring Colonies, and putting us to an immense charge, with so little success on our side, as not in the least to dispirit the enemy; I say these things considered, if no other measures be taken but the carrying on such a defensive War, a few years continuance of that alone, must work the inevitable destruction of this Province.

"And now Gentlemen, affairs being brought to this Crisis with us, and His Majesty having, in compassion to the distress'd circumstances of his good subjects of these Provinces, ordered so strong an Armament for the Reduction of Canada, at a time when he has so much occasion to employ both his land and sea Forces in Europe, justly expecting that we, who will reap so large a part of the happy fruits of its success, should join to the utmost of our power in promoting this great design, especially as His Majesty has been graciously

pleased (besides all the other benefits allowed to our troops in the former Expeditions against Canada and Nova Scotia) to take upon himself the payment of & charge of cloathing the Forces in this Expedition; I say upon due consideration, I hope you will act your parts at this important conjuncture with Vigour and Resolution, not only in your Legislative capacity whilst you are together, but in the short time of your Recess among your neighbouring Towns in the Countrey, by encouraging the enlistments for His Majestys service in the present Expedition to the utmost of your power."¹

Since Massachusetts Bay took the lead among the colonies, an elaboration of her proceedings seemed to be pertinent. We turn now, yet with greater brevity, to observe what preparations were being made by the other governments, each of which gave special inducements, in one way or another, to favor an enlistment.

New Hampshire voted to enlist one thousand men, though some authorities suggest that only five hundred took the field. Yet Governor Wentworth, in his requisitions to England for reimbursement, said his province raised seven hundred and thirty-three men, and that his Assembly had voted sixty thousand pounds for defraying expenses.²

Rhode Island voted three companies of one hundred men each, inclusive of officers—a standard for companies required by the royal instructions—and gave a bounty to each man of fifty pounds, in bills of public credit of the old tenor; a suit of clothes valued at twenty-six pounds of the old tenor; "a small arm and cartouch box, over and above His Majesty's pay, and the share of booty taken"; also "tents for the land forces, and a suitable bed and blanket for every two men." She expended, in addition to the bounty, £76,083 11s. 4d., New England currency, which reduced to sterling, at the rate of £750 currency for £100 sterling, equalled £10,144 19s. 6d.;³

¹ *Mass. Court Records*, idem, pp. 498-502.

² *Chalmers's Papers, Canada; Memoirs of Last War*, p. 62.

³ *R. I. Records*, Vol. V., pp. 172, 175, 177, 236.

and was reimbursed to the sum of only £7507 4s. 3*1/4*d.¹

In May, 1746, the Governor, Council and Representatives of Connecticut, in General Court assembled, voted to furnish "six hundred able-bodied effective men, or more if they shall offer themselves," but at the June session increased the number to one thousand men, inclusive of the officers. The bounty and other allowances offered at the May session were also materially increased in June; "for the encouragement of such men voluntarily to enlist themselves"; yet, in case the number should fall short, the remainder were ordered to "be imprest to go into said service." The war committees of the several towns were given additional instructions. Jonathan Trumbull and Hezekiah Huntington were appointed "to provide, in the best and most reasonable manner, such good fire-locks, cutlasses, cartouch-boxes and belts as may be wanted." Andrew Burr, Thomas Welles, Hezekiah Huntington, Gurdon Saltonstall, John Fowler and Jabez Hamlin were entrusted, as commissaries, "with full power by impressing, or otherwise, to provide sufficient transports for said troops and sufficient provisions at present for their subsistence five months from the time of their embarkation, and also to provide cloathing, beds and other necessaries."² Officers were chosen for the regiment in May and June,³ and it was ordered that proclamations be issued "for the keeping days of Fasting and Prayer to Almighty God, for his protection, blessing and assistance in the expedition."⁴

The regiment was at New London early in August, awaiting orders to embark for Louisburg; and when the Assembly observed at its October session that the late season of the year presaged a delay for some time to come, they voted "that his Honour the Governoour of this Colony be desired, and he is hereby desired, to advise the colonel

¹ *Correspondence of the Colonial Governors of Rhode Island.* Edited by G. S. Kimball; Vol. II. (1903), pp. 98, 99.

² *Public Records of the Colony of Conn.*, Vol. IX., pp. 211, 231, 232.

³ *Conn. Colony Records*, Vol. IX., pp. 213, 214, 236, 237. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

or chief officer of the said regiment to offer a furlough to the said soildiers, that they may retire to their respective places of abode until they shall have his Majesties orders for mustering again."¹ This order was carried out by Governor Law, but as late as the year 1750, this resolve caused some trouble by being "interpreted as expressing disrespect to his Majesty's orders, and tending to disadvantage the then intended expedition." It even threatened to jeopardize the reimbursement promised by the mother country, but the action of Connecticut, it is certain, was prompted by a desire to economize the Crown's expenses, as well as to sustain the welfare of the colony.²

A census of New York, taken in 1746, shows that the white males between the years of sixteen and sixty numbered but 12,522, exclusive of Albany County, which could not be computed because of the enemy.³ Nevertheless this province provided one thousand six hundred men, and also four "independent" companies of one hundred men each. It also conciliated the Five Nations of Indians, through the instrumentality of Col. William Johnson, whom the Indians themselves had chosen to be their colonel.⁴ Governor Clinton was personally active in conferences with the Indians, but at the same time was at loggerheads with his Assembly, who made him much trouble. On November 9th, 1747, he reported to Newcastle that "about £55,000 sterl." would cover all expenses incurred and to be liquidated.⁵

Lewis Morris, governor of New Jersey, died on May 21st, 1746, whereby the government devolved upon the Honorable John Hamilton, the eldest member of the Council.⁶ On June 12th Hamilton addressed the Council

¹ *Conn. Colony Records*, *idem*, p. 257. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 575, 576.

³ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, Vol. VI., p. 392. New York's official action in behalf of the scheme can be studied from *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of New York*, Vol. II. (New York, 1766). ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 409. For muster rolls see, *Second Annual Report of the State Historian of New York*. Albany, 1897, pp. 617-639.

⁶ *N. J. Votes*, of the given date.

and General Assembly and communicated Newcastle's letter of instructions to Morris, relative to the intended expedition. He also forwarded immediately the remaining letters of the packet to the governor of Pennsylvania. The Assembly expressed themselves as grateful to His Majesty for his "paternal Care," as shown by the proposed expedition, which also proved to them that His Majesty was "not unmindful of the Welfare and Preservation even of his remotest Subjects."¹ New Jersey voted five hundred men, and by its appropriations impaired its own treasury. Col. Peter Schuyler, who commanded the New Jersey companies, also advanced some thousands of pounds "out of his own estate" to keep his men together.² But in doing so he reaped the displeasure of New York's governor, who bitterly complained to the mother country, asserting that Schuyler's action had caused desertions and mutiny among the unpaid provincials.³

The Legislature of Pennsylvania was controlled by Quakers, who, while affirming allegiance to the King's commands, so far as their religious persuasions would permit, objected to being "concerned in war-like Enterprises."⁴ In this they were seconded by the German Mennonites, a sect of Pennsylvania pietists, who were also advocates of non-resistance. Governor George Thomas, therefore, raised four hundred men, without an act of government, and clothed, armed and equipped them on his own credit.

Maryland voted, "to encourage 300 able bodied Freemen to enlist . . . and to transport them to the Place of Rendezvous,"⁵ who were ready for the field by July 25th. As no arms could be purchased in Maryland at the time, the House, to prevent delay, consented to supply "out of

¹ N. J. *Votes*, June, 1748. ² *Ibid.*, June 13th, 1748, and Jan. 7th, 1748.

³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1748; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, Vol. VI., pp. 341, 349, 351, 357; *Chalmers's Papers, Canada*.

⁴ *Penn. Votes*, Vol. IV. (Phila., 1774), p. 38.

⁵ *Maryland Votes and Proceedings of the Lower House of Assembly*.

the public Magazine of this Province, on condition of the like Quantity being again replaced for the Use of the Public," the following equipment: "300 Muskets, with Slings and Bayonets, 300 Cartouch Boxes with Belts, 6 Drums, 9 Half Pikes, and 6 Halberts."¹ These things were accordingly removed from the public magazine, but had not been replaced as late as June 22nd, 1747, when the new governor, Samuel Ogle, was urged to remedy the condition. But Maryland rejected the request of Shirley for appropriations toward the conciliation of the Six Nations, in the following words:—

"We have considered the Letters from Governor Shirley, laid before us by your Excellency, and cannot with any Colour of Reason burthen the People of this Province upon every Suggestion of private and unknown Persons, who would willingly provide for themselves; or of Governors of distant Provinces, who, no doubt, would ease those under their respective Governments, at the Expence of others. The People of Maryland have lately been at great Charge in providing for, and sending to Albany, three hundred Men for his Majesty's Service; which, with the Consideration of a weighty public debt now due, will we hope render us excused on the subject Matter of those Letters; and the more so, as it is well known we can hardly find Means for the necessary Supplies of our own Domestic Affairs."²

Maryland did not advance anything for the pay of her contingent, but voted £5399 19s. 8d. for levying and maintaining them in Maryland and transporting them to Albany with provisions.³

Virginia, though given special honors, in the person of Governor Gooch, contributed a very unequal proportion. She could raise only one hundred men, and even they were not ready before the middle of August. In October, 1746, this Virginian contingent still lay encamped within the fort at New York city, waiting to proceed to Albany,

¹ *Maryland Votes.* ² *Ibid.*, June 25th, 1747.

³ *Ibid.*, July 11th and Dec. 23d, 1747. It is not clear whether this is all that was expended.

the place of rendezvous. A Virginian, referring to this tardiness, wrote: "If Glory cannot fire us, let Shame confound us: Hark, the distant March sounds *Britons strike home, revenge, revenge your Country's Wrong.* Either let us undertake this Glorious Cause with the true Spirit of a British Adventurer, or admit ourselves dwindled to meer Savages, hiding our Heads in Infamy, while our Neighbours share the Rewards and Honours due to Patriotism."¹ A New Yorker remarked that, "One would imagine the Honour of having their Gouvernor appointed General of the Forces, should have excited their Zeal and redoubled their Vigour, on this glorious Occasion"; and said they contributed "a small Number indeed, for a People who have assumed that vain Motto to their Arms of *En Dat Virginia Quartam.*"² This government voted "a sum of money not exceeding four thousand pounds, towards defraying the expence of enlisting, arming, cloathing, victualing, and transporting the Soldiers."³

Meanwhile Massachusetts, led by the enthusiasm of Shirley, wrought strenuously for the success of the enterprise. Hopes ran high. The men at Albany, Louisburg and in New England eagerly waited for the regulars and the fleet, since their arrival was to sound the alarm for action. The Indian allies of New York thirsted for a chance to revenge themselves. In England a fleet and many transports had been collected at Portsmouth; but after several embarkations and debarkations, the British ministry altered the destination of the English regulars, for a descent on Brittany in France.⁴ On May 30th, 1747, the Duke of Newcastle wrote to Shirley, directing that

Virginia Gazette, reprinted in Parker's *N. Y. Post-Boy*, No. 185, for August 4th, 1746.

² Parker's *N. Y. Post-Boy*, No. 190, for Sept. 8th, 1746.

³ *Virginia Acts* (Williamsburg, 1752), p. 207; also in Hening's *Statutes of Va.*, Vol. V. pp. 401-404.

⁴ Rolt, Vol. IV.. p. 346. See also reasons on last page of this monograph.

the provincial forces be disbanded, as the following extract shows:—

“His Majesty has been pleased to direct me to signify to you His Pleasure, that you should immediately appoint a Meeting with Commodore Knowles at such Place as shall be agreed upon, and consider with him the present State of Nova Scotia and Louisbourg, and take the proper Measures for the Defence of those Places.

“It is His Majesty’s Pleasure you should endeavour to compleat from out of the Americans which are now raised for His Majesty’s Service, Sir William Pepperrell’s Regiment, and your own.

“Lieutenant General Phillip’s Regiment, is, I am afraid, very weak; I will, however, send him His Majesty’s Orders to send what Recruits can be got from hence: And you will also endeavour to have his Regiment compleated out of the Americans.

“As it is His Majesty’s Intention that the Americans should be immediately discharged, except only such few as are mention’d above, the Manner of discharging them, the Satisfaction for their Time, &c. must be left to Commodore Knowles and yourself; the King however is perswaded you will do it as cheap as possible.

“And as these American Troops have done little or no Service hitherto, it is hoped they will not expect to be paid in the Manner they would have been, had they actually been employ’d on Service. And it seems highly reasonable, that such of these Troops as have remain’d in the Provinces where they were inlisted, should be contented with less Pay than such of them as may have marched into other Provinces.

“When you and Mr. Knowles shall have met, and fully consider’d the Service to be undertaken, in the Manner above-directed, and shall have agreed what Numbers of Americans it will be necessary to keep in Pay for that Purpose, it is His Majesty’s Pleasure, that you should procure an Account of the whole Expence incurred on Account of the American Troops, from the Time of their being levied, to the Time of their Discharge; and when the same shall be fully adjusted and liquidated, you will transmit it to me, with the proper Vouchers, from the several Governors, that it may be laid before Parliament, to the End that Provision may be made for the Payment. And in the mean Time, in order to prevent any Complaint amongst the Men that have been enlisted, you will recommend it to the Governors of the Provinces where these Levies have been made, to procure Credit from

the respective Assemblies for that Purpose; which His Majesty hopes may be done without Difficulty. . . . And as to the Americans in general, except only such as may be wanted for the Service above-mention'd, it is His Majesty's Pleasure, that you, in Conjunction with Commodore Knowles, should thank them in such Manner as you think proper, and immediately discharge them upon the best and cheapest Foot you can; and in Order thereto, you will consult with the respective Governors upon the Manner of doing it: And you will transmit to His Majesty, an immediate Account of what you shall do therein."

In October, 1747, Shirley and Knowles issued a proclamation, "that the King, finding it necessary to employ the greater part of his forces to aid his allies and to defend the liberties of Europe, had thought proper to lay aside for the present the intended expedition against Canada."¹

Even the desire of Shirley to use some of the men raised for a more modest expedition against Crown Point was doomed to fail. Thus ended a scheme which had been well-concerted, and which gave every promise of success. It had been entered upon primarily at the expense of the mother country, and failure to execute it proved a tremendous waste,² aggregating several millions of dollars, as reckoned by us today.

¹ *Chambers's Papers.* The proclamation is also printed in *Records of Rhode Island*, Vol. V. General Sinclair's forces and Admiral Lestock's squadron were ready to sail for North America, but "contrary winds" delayed them. Meanwhile Knowles had informed the Secretary of the Admiralty that Louisburg was "the most miserable ruinous place" he ever beheld. It was, therefore, considered unfit for winter-quarters for the English regulars, and Boston, suggested by Lestock as an alternative, was not chosen, for reasons shown in the following extract from the joint letter of the Duke of Newcastle to Lestock and Sinclair, August 26th, 1746, contemporary transcript in N. Y. Public Library: "His Majesty finding, by your former letters, that it would be impracticable for you to proceed this Season with the Squadron and Troops under your Command further than Boston, and being desirous that they shou'd be employ'd at present, in such manner as shou'd be most for His Majesty's Service, and consistent with the King's intention of sending them to North America, as early in the Spring, as the Navigation in those Seas will permit, The King has commanded me to acquaint you with his Pleasure, that you shou'd forthwith sail with all the Ships and Transports that are design'd for North America, either to Port L'Orient, or to Rochefort, or to Rochelle, and endeavour to make Yourselves Masters of such of them as You shall think it most adviseable to attempt" [etc.].

² An elaborate report of the respective claims by the colonies for reimbursement, dated February, 1749-1750, shows that the total sum charged was £273,139 1sh. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and the amount actually paid out at that time was £235,817 1sh. *Chambers's Papers.* A discussion of the expenses incurred by Massachusetts is given in *Some Observations Relating to the Present Circumstances of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, Boston, 1750. This is a pamphlet of twenty pages.

JEREMY TAYLOR AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

BY DANIEL MERRIMAN.

THE movements and personal influences which tended to the development of religious liberty in England in the Seventeenth Century were extremely complex and are difficult to trace. The establishment of the supremacy of the Sovereign, as the head of the Church, by Henry VIII. and the revival of learning in the Sixteenth Century, set in action ecclesiastical and political forces which in their peculiar interaction required more than three hundred years to work out their result. With the advent of Edward VI. the rising individuality in religion, nourished by the New Learning, proceeded swiftly to reforms for which the mass of the people were not ready. After the short and fierce Catholic reaction under Mary was over, during which the nascent Protestantism was put down in fire and blood, these reforming and liberalizing forces gained fresh headway; but though active, seething and showing abundant strength, they were kept in abeyance by the extraordinary statesmanship, tact and vigor of Elizabeth. Conformity was insisted upon mainly for political, rather than for religious causes. Punishment was dealt out alike to Papist and Non-conformist. No less than one hundred and eighty-seven persons suffered death under Elizabeth by the laws against Catholic priests and Catholic converts; and though in far less number Brownists, Separatists and Puritans were imprisoned and hanged with impartial severity. It is a mistake to suppose that all these were pure lovers of religious freedom, and were persecuted

accordingly. Many of them were simply disorderly and fanatical mischief-makers, impossible to be tolerated. Some, however, were thoughtful and conscientious supporters, not only of religious but of civil liberty, far in advance of their times. For these England became a difficult place, and later going forth to Holland and America they gave to religious liberty at once its clearest definition and its most practical, though far from perfect realization.

But these were only a fragment. Plenty of this leaven remained in England. In the subsequent reigns of James I. and Charles I. its effects were seen in struggles of the most complicated character which finally issued in the execution of the king, the advent of Cromwell, the profound lessons of Commonwealth and Protectorate, the restoration of the Monarchy, and the Toleration Act of 1689. In all this long struggle for religious freedom, Protestant dissent played the most important part. The Puritan occupied the most conspicuous position on the stage. He on the whole had the earliest and clearest vision, gave the most definite testimony, suffered, at the time, if we except the Catholics, the most privations, and in the retrospect has probably received rather more than his full measure of credit and glory.

Especially have we in New England, rejoicing in our heritage, been disposed minutely to investigate and graphically to make the most of the achievements of the Puritan party, both in England and America. This is entirely commendable. But something is to be said for those who from first to last remained in the communion of the English Church and did what they could to fight out the battle for religious freedom within her ranks. They played no small or unhandsome part in the great achievement, though they have been comparatively overlooked. There was always an influential remnant of Churchmen, both lay and clerical, whose learning, social standing and sobriety of judgment gave them a conserving power which

in the net result had its value, as well as the more radical testimony of the Separatist.

The English Church, during all the first part of this century, had a difficult task. Through its close connection with the State it was compelled to bear the odium of the weakness, folly and tyranny of the Sovereign. It had to defend itself against the intrigues and unscrupulous efforts of the Papacy to return to ecclesiastical and political power. It had to resist the general debasement of morals, the bold wickedness in high places and the scandalous degradation of ecclesiastical functions which followed the Reformation; and the very measures which it was obliged to take to accomplish these things, roused the suspicions and antagonism of the dissenting parties. It is only within comparatively recent years that the obstacles that beset the broad minded and conscientious Anglican divines of the reigns of James I. and Charles I. have begun to be appreciated, their services on behalf of toleration understood and justice done them.

Among these true promoters of religious liberty in the English Church none occupies a more shining place than Jeremy Taylor "the Shakespeare of divines" of the Seventeenth Century. His life and writings are so wrapped up with the movement of the times that they can best be considered together.

The son of a barber, he was born in August, 1613, in a house known as the "Black Bull" opposite Trinity Church, Cambridge. Harry Vane and Bishop Pearson were born the same year; Richard Baxter two years, and Ralph Cudworth four years later. Milton and Fuller were each five; Roger Williams and Oliver Cromwell were each thirteen; and George Herbert and Isaac Walton were each twenty years old. Three years later Shakespeare, and thirteen years later Bacon died. Taylor thus appeared almost in the centre of a notable group.

A precocious lad, he was trained at Perse School,

Cambridge, entered as a sizar at Caius College at the age of thirteen, took his first degree at eighteen, was admitted to holy orders at twenty, and at twenty-one became M.A. and *prælector* in rhetoric. During his residence at the University, there were also there, Milton, Herbert, Fuller, Crashaw, Henry More, Benjamin Whichcote and John Harvard, and he might have known any, or all of them. Accident gave him the opportunity to preach at St. Paul's, the pulpit of which had been glorified by the eloquence of the poet-preacher Donne, then three years dead, and where we are told that Taylor's "florid and youthful beauty and sweet and pleasant air and sublime and raised discourses" were "the astonishment and admiration" of his auditors. He was evidently the pulpit sensation of the hour. He thus attracted the attention of Laud, then as powerful Archbishop of Charles I., beginning to turn the relentless screws of "Thorough" church discipline upon all laxity and non-conformity. Laud perceived his talent, and after some delay secured his admission as Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, and later made him his chaplain. At Oxford he remained two years, falling under the influence of Chillingworth and incurring suspicion of a tendency to popery through his intimacy with the Franciscan *Sancta Clara*. In 1638 he was given by Juxon the comfortable living of Uppingham in Rutlandshire, still however keeping his fellowship at Oxford, where he had gained sufficient distinction to preach at St. Mary's, November 5, his first published sermon on the Gunpowder Plot, a labored, dry, scholastic dissertation with a fulsome dedication to Laud.

He remained as parish priest at Uppingham for about four years, marrying there Phœbe Langdale; when having been made Chaplain in ordinary to the King, the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642 led him to join Charles, probably at Oxford. Here by royal mandate he received the degree of D.D. and wrote his second work, "Episcopacy Asserted," published late in 1642. Here too he began to receive

the favor of Christopher, afterwards Lord, Hatton, who, Laud having been impeached and imprisoned, continued for several years to be his patron and to whom many of his books are dedicated.

We now lose sight of him—pronounced loyalist and churchman—for about two years as he probably followed the disastrous fortunes and wanderings of the King, until we suddenly find him with Colonel Gerard a prisoner of the Parliamentary forces when that officer, in his attempt to relieve Cardigan Castle in Wales, was defeated February 4, 1645. This was a good fortune for him and also for us. Liberated, as he says, “by the courtesies of my friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy,” he with two other royalist clergymen, for a time carried on a school for boys in Wales, and later was made private Chaplain by the genial and broad-minded Lord Carberry, who received him into his beautiful country estate, “Golden Grove,” on the bank of the Towey in South Wales. Here “in a private corner of the world,” secure from the terrible storms that were breaking over England, Taylor remained for about ten comparatively happy years, only occasionally disturbed by fears as some spray from the billows of the great civil conflict beat upon his refuge; and here he wrote his most celebrated works. He complains of the lack of books. We are glad of the lack, for it freed him from the excess of citation of authorities and quotations from the classics and gave liberty to his genius which now began to disport itself. His first book was “An Apology for Liturgy,” a most lucid and heartfelt argument for the Prayer Book as against the Directory for Worship, set forth by the Parliament. It was dedicated to the King and published in 1646. This was followed in 1647 by “The Liberty of Prophesying,” the most famous, though not the most popular of his books. Then came “The Great Exemplar,” or “Life of Christ,” not in the least a critical work, but really a series of glowing and exquisite

discourses and prayers gathering about the chief events in our Saviour's life—a treatise in which the extraordinary power, imagination and beauty of the author's style begin to fascinate us. The best known of all his works, the "Holy Living," came next, followed by twenty-eight sermons, which were probably a long time in preparation, and in which his wonderful gifts as a master of gorgeous, yet pure English are still further displayed. One wonders where in this corner of Wales he got hearers for the music and throb of these glittering battalions of majestic sentences. The companion to "Holy Living," the "Holy Dying" appeared later, surpassing its predecessor in dignity of thought and brilliancy of expression; and to this succeeded another series of twenty-four sermons which, with the twenty-eight, already published, he called the *Eniautos*. In these last sermons Taylor attains his maximum of splendor. He moves with the ease, the exultation, the certainty of a sovereign in the treasure house of kings, and his spirit still thrills and rules us from his dusty pages. Hardly anything nobler exists in our noble tongue.

A sermon on the death of Lady Carberry and a small tract entitled "Clerus Domini" came out in connection with these larger works, and in 1654, he published his "Real Presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament," a controversial work, burdened with learning, which stirred up strife and is inferior to his other works of this period. A book that brought him into unpleasant prominence was "Golden Grove," a sort of catechism, or manual of creed, litanies, prayers and offices for the whole life of a Christian, which was published in 1655. His charming "Discourse on Friendship" followed, a pure piece of literary work worthy of Cicero, in which there is no suggestion of theologian or priest. Two treatises dealing with sin and repentance, called "Unum Necessarium" and "Deus Justificatus," in which he seemed to incline towards Pelagianism, and which stirred up further hostility to

him, came next and may possibly have been the cause of his arrest and short imprisonment in Chepstow Castle. If to these controversial books, we add one other, we shall complete the list of Taylor's chief productions. This is the "Ductor Dubitantium," published, after long delay, in 1660, the longest, most ambitious, the most laboriously composed, by him the most highly regarded but perhaps the least valuable of all his works. It is a most prolix and attenuated analysis of cases of conscience, filled with odd learning and hair-splitting distinctions, which had few readers when it was published, and in spite of a separate edition brought out in 1851, has few now, though it is of interest to those curious in such matters.

There is one other book bearing the amusing title, "A Discourse on Auxiliary Beauty, or Artificial Handsomeness," published in 1656, which singularly enough has been persistently attributed to Taylor, but as all his biographers point out, entirely without adequate evidence. He may have had something to do with it, as a friend of the real author.

During all this turbulent period from about 1645 to about 1655, he enjoyed the hospitable shelter of Golden Grove. It is sad that he could not have enjoyed it longer. He ventured occasionally, perhaps secretly, to London; he formed connections with Rushton, the famous publisher by whom his books were brought out; he secured the valuable friendship of John Evelyn, for whom he acted as confessor, with whom he often stayed and who greatly helped him; he found infrequent opportunities for preaching in St. Gregory, a little church near St. Paul's which Cromwell sometimes tacitly allowed to be used for Episcopal services. There is a legend that he had access to Charles during the last summer of the monarch's life when he was a prisoner of the Parliament, and that the King parted from him with affection, giving him his watch, now in the hands of one of Taylor's descendants and a ring set

with a ruby and two diamonds owned by a Mrs. Roberts of New York. This is all possible, but rather unlikely, though of Taylor's personal devotion to Charles there can be no doubt. The King would scarcely bestow such tokens, except as he was looking forward to the end; and though Taylor was probably in London early in 1649, the King was so closely guarded that Taylor would hardly have been of the very few admitted to him.

Later than this, Taylor's unwise use of Golden Grove, the name of his place of relative concealment, as the title of one of his books, in the preface of which he makes an indirect reference apparently to Cromwell as "the son of Zippor," caused his arrest and imprisonment, probably in the Tower, early in 1655, from which Evelyn's intercession procured his release.

Taylor was now in circumstances of very great personal distress, to meet which he seems to have been naturally unfitted. The ejected Episcopal clergy were mostly poor and in hiding and they and their friends were objects of suspicion. For some reason Lord Carberry seems to have withdrawn his support and the shelter of his estate. Taylor poor, suspected, homeless, bereft of wife and some of his children who had died at Golden Grove, was dependent upon the sympathy and bounty of Evelyn. In his extreme poverty he apparently had been helped by a Mrs. Joanna Bridges who, from unsubstantial stories, was thought by Bishop Heber to be a natural child of the King, and who had an estate at Man-di-nam, where she had perhaps cared for Taylor's surviving children. At any rate she became his wife, probably in 1656, and his fortunes began to mend.

Through the influence of Evelyn, Lord Conway, "a pious and active Irish landlord, devoted to the Anglican Church and a convinced, though not fanatical loyalist," who had a magnificent seat at Portmore in "the woods of Ulster" in the northeastern part of Ireland, invited

Taylor to be assistant lecturer in the parish of Lisburn. There seems to have been a sort of collegiate church there, the vicar of which was an Independent preacher partly supported by Conway. The place was not inviting, but there was no choice. Taylor's difficulties in regard to stipend, serving under an Independent, etc., were partially removed and in 1658 he was installed as lecturer at Lisburn and probably (though it was illegal), as private Chaplain to Conway, who treated him with much consideration. Cromwell had given him a passport and protection for his family, under his sign manual, and he had letters to powerful friends and supporters of the Parliament in Dublin. It is easy to see, however, that his position was extremely uncomfortable. The neighboring parishes were filled with fighting Presbyterian ministers who were in perpetual hostility to the Anabaptists, on the one hand, and the Episcopalian on the other. The death of Cromwell in 1658 gave them greater freedom and much of their wrath fell upon Taylor, who was deprived of his lectureship, arrested and summoned to Dublin. He was shortly released and returned to Portmore, burying himself in his books and longing for England.

At the Restoration Taylor was in England, and on the 29th of May, 1660, took glad part in welcoming Charles II. He was now forty-seven and perhaps the most brilliant writer and preacher, if not one of the most distinguished men among the Episcopal clergy, and there seemed to be every reason to expect his appointment to one of the vacant sees in England. This would have been a fit and happy lot. Why we cannot discover, but he was sent back to Ireland as Bishop of Connor and Down, and later was made—not Bishop but administrator of the adjacent, but temporarily dismantled diocese of Dromore and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin. In the last office he was in his element. To the reorganization of the University, whose affairs were in the utmost disorder

through the disasters of the civil war, he gave himself with fervent zeal and conspicuous success. In his work as Bishop it was different. His diocese, today in the wealthiest and most cultivated part of Ireland, was then out of the way, semi-savage and fanatical. His parishes were filled with obstinate and bitter Presbyterians, angry at being disturbed, who denied his authority as Bishop, refused attendance upon his visitations and rejected scornfully all his overtures. He did not understand them, and they tormented him. It was a misfit all round. Like many a really sweet-natured man he seems to have had a vein of obstinacy and even of implacability, when goaded by senseless opposition. Worn out by the resistance of his "dour" Presbyterians, he invoked the secular arm, forced them out of their churches, caused, at least indirectly, their imprisonment and severe handling, and brought from England a colony of Episcopal clergy to take their place. The Bishop had to fight his way to authority. It was a poor use to which to put so fine a tool. Curiously enough his eager intellectual activity, during these distractions, was displayed in the publication of his "Worthy Communicant," one of the best of his devotional books; his "Dissuasive from Popery," really an appeal to the Irish people on behalf of Episcopacy, and his glowing sermon on the death of Archbishop Bramhall.

Meantime he seems to have been deserted, or at least forgotten by his English friends, Thurland, Hatton, Evelyn. They failed to respond to his earnest appeals. He wrote passionately to his old friend Sheldon, once of All Souls, now Archbishop of Canterbury, begging for some appointment in England—some translation to an English see. But it was all in vain. Whether his Irish Episcopal friends thought it was indispensable to have some one of his reputation in Ireland; whether the King for some unknown reason was secretly against him; whether

he had acquired a reputation for vigor in administration and of breadth in theology which was inconvenient—we know not. He found himself irrevocably shut up in barbarous Ireland. In all this his circumstances have a curious likeness to those of Edmund Spenser, near the close of his life. Cultured, sensitive, fond of friends, dependent for doing his best upon a congenial atmosphere, he felt his isolation, lost courage, hope and much of his sweetness, and in a measure ceased to be the Jeremy Taylor of the wonderful sermons of Golden Grove. There is a tradition that, in his distress, he caused his secretary to collect all the copies he could of his "Liberty of Prophesying" and burn them. It may well be true, for the principles of that noble book he had failed in practice to carry out, and though it had passed to a second edition, it is significant that he left it out of the list of his books which he gave to Graham for the library of Dublin University. Under these conditions, his health failed and he died at Lisburn August 13, 1667, just fifty-four years of age, practically a broken-hearted man. A few days before, his only surviving son, Charles, was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster. Taylor's memory and grave were neglected until 1827, when a tablet to him was erected in the Cathedral Church at Lisburn, and in 1866, among some bones discovered in confusion in the Cathedral of Dromore, a skull larger than usual was found, and this, supposed to be Taylor's, was buried in the choir, and a brass tablet placed above it.

Taylor was a handsome man, of sweet voice, gracious manners, and with a tinge of vanity in his personal appearance. He was profoundly learned—with the learning of his time—in theology, philosophy, history and literature, though far less so in science. Living in a period of the greatest political, ecclesiastical and theological upheaval, he was much of the time comparatively destitute of money, books and home; was harassed, imprisoned, and driven

about; yet such was his genius and facility of work, that his writings, some of them immortal, fill fifteen large octavo volumes, and his is one of the dearest names in English literature.

He was not a deep or original thinker; not a philosopher or theologian of the first order, but, with a natural conservatism, possessed an astonishing insight into the meaning and moral availability of accepted truth. A strict churchman and loyalist he was rather latitudinarian in theology. He was not fond of music; did not believe in sprinkling in baptism; was a supporter of the confessional; thought it right for the unlawful proclamations and edicts of a true prince to be proclaimed by the clergy, and justified the killing of all a master's slaves if the master himself was murdered by one. In character he was ingenuous, pure, unselfish, a passionate lover of truth, full of charity, attached to the old, yet with broad vision and with a genius for religion, or perhaps one might say, for devoutness; for all his writings, even his elaborate prefaces and dedications, and his polemical and casuistical treatises, have a wonderful and marked elevation of spirit, as if the author, though engaged in trivial definitions and controversies, naturally walked with God.

Taylor wrote some poetry, mostly hymns; but cramped by the absurd metres which were the fashion of his time, his verse has relatively no value. His fame rests chiefly on his genius as a writer of resplendent prose, in which he has perhaps only one or two equals in the whole range of English letters.

Here he has unquestionably suffered from his subject matter. He was first of all a clergyman, a preacher, a divine, a bishop, and people do not generally think of divinity as literature, or run to sermons for the pure pleasure of literary thought and expression; even in the Seventeenth Century they did not; still less do they in the Twentieth. All the more remarkable is it that Taylor,

for the most part confining himself to theological, devotional and homiletical limits, achieved such literary distinction. He had not the weight of Hooker; nor the range, originality, or poetic passion of Milton; nor the quaintness, wit and reckless good nature of Fuller; nor the terse and thoughtful stateliness of Bacon; but he has a lucidity, an ease, force and precision of movement, a light, sensitive and sometimes humorous touch, accompanied by a wealth, a fitness, a splendor of imagery which give him pre-eminence among them all. Coleridge "used to reckon Shakespeare and Bacon, Milton and Taylor, four square, each against each." He spoke of Taylor's "great and lovely mind"; that "he was the most eloquent of divines; had I said of men, Cicero would forgive me and Demosthenes nod." Keble said of him "I confess I do not know any other author, except perhaps Hooker (whose subjects are so different that they will hardly bear comparison), worthy to be likened to him. Spenser comes nearest to his spirit in all respects. Milton is like him in richness and depth, but in morality seems to me as far below him as pride is before humility."

The best known and most widely circulated of Taylor's writings are his "Holy Living" and "Holy Dying," and selected passages from his other devotional books, his life of Christ and his sermons. The mingled piety and music of these exquisite sentences still enthrall us and are good for the soul. But his "Liberty of Prophesying" is his most significant book, and the book which, because its appearance hit the right moment in one of the profoundest political, intellectual and moral struggles of the English race, gives him his greatest fame, though in point of his peculiar richness and beauty of style, it is inferior to much of his writing.

The distinguishing trait of this learned, frank and lofty treatise is its grounding of liberty of religious opinion in charity, and in this respect it is a transcript of the pious

spirit of its great author. He urges that no other weapons be used in behalf of the faith than those which are suitable to the Christian warfare, such as "preaching and disputation, charity and sweetness, holiness of life, assiduity of exhortation, the word of God and prayer. For these ways are most natural, most prudent, most peaceable and effectual. Only let not men be hasty in calling every disliked opinion by the name of heresy; and when they have resolved that they will call it so, let them use the erring person like a brother, nor convince him with a gibbet, or vex him out of his understandings and persuasions." He points out that "few men considered that so long as men had such variety of principles, such several constitutions, educations, tempers and distempers, hopes, interests and weaknesses, degrees of light and degrees of understanding, it was impossible all should be of one mind. And what is impossible to be done, is not necessary it should be done. And therefore although variety of opinion was impossible to be cured (and they who attempted it, did like him who claps his shoulder to the ground to stop an earthquake), yet the inconvenience arising from it might possibly be cured—not by uniting their beliefs—that was to be despised of,—but by curing that which caused those mischiefs and accidental inconveniences of their disagreeing. For although these inconveniences which every man sees and feels, were consequent to this diversity of persuasions, yet it was but accidentally and by chance, inasmuch as we see that in many things, and they of great concernment, men allow to themselves and to each other a liberty of disagreement and no hurt neither. And certainly if diversity of opinions were of itself the cause of mischiefs, it would be so ever—that is, regularly and universally; but that we see it is not." "For," he continues, "if it be evinced that one heaven shall hold men of differing opinions—if the unity of faith be not destroyed by that men call differing religions, and if an unity of

Christian charity be the duty of all, even towards persons that are not persuaded of every proposition that we believe, then I would fain know to what purpose are all those stirs and great noises in Christendom, those names of faction, the several names of churches not distinguished by the divisions of kingdoms, which was the primitive rule and canon, but distinguished by names of sects and men? These are all become instruments of hatred, thence come schisms, and parting of communions, and then persecutions, and then wars and rebellions, and then the dissolutions of all friendships and societies. All these mischiefs proceed, not from this, that men are not of one mind (for that is neither necessary nor possible), but that every opinion is made an article of faith, every article is the ground of a quarrel, every quarrel makes a faction, every faction is zealous, and all zeal is for God, and whatever is for God cannot be too much. We by this time are come to that pass we think we love not God except we hate our brother, and we have not the virtue of religion unless we persecute all religions but our own."

He assumes that there must be some basis for the exercise of toleration, that the Apostles' creed was originated and laid down by the Apostles themselves as such basis, and that it contains all that is necessary to be believed unto salvation, and no more. "The duty of faith is completed in believing the Apostles' creed." "Since it is necessary to rest somewhere, it is best to rest there where the Apostles rested." "Not that it is unlawful for any wise man to extend his creed to anything which follows from these articles, but no such is fit to be pressed on others as an article of faith"—least of all by force. "For it is a demonstration that nothing can be necessary to be believed under pain of damnation, but such propositions of which it is certain that God hath spoken and taught them to us, and of which it is certain that this is their sense and purpose."

With vast learning and acuteness he proves that persecution by the Church was unknown during its earlier history; that it is impossible to establish any rule of faith more definite than the Apostles' creed, either from the Bible, tradition, decrees of councils, the fathers, the Pope, or the opinions of the Universal Church. He vindicates the authority of reason. "No man may be trusted to judge for all others, unless this person were infallible and authorized to do so; which no man, or company of men is, yet every man may be trusted to judge for himself." He points out the folly, iniquity and uselessness of punishing by torture and death the holding of opinions which he has proved to be harmless and inevitable. "No Christian is to be put to death, dismembered, or otherwise directly persecuted for his opinion which does not teach impiety or blasphemy. 'If it plainly or apparently brings in a crime and himself does act it or encourage it, then the matter of fact is punishable according to its proportion or malignity.' He distinguishes ecclesiastical from secular authority, and shows that the secular governor has no right to punish opinions, but only disturbance of the peace. "The ecclesiastical power which only is competent to take notice of such questions, is not of capacity to use the temporal sword, or corporal inflictions. The mere doctrines and opinions of men are things spiritual, and therefore not cognizable by a temporal authority; and the ecclesiastical authority which is to take cognizance, is itself so spiritual that it cannot inflict any punishment corporal."

He has a long section on the Anabaptists in which he argues with great subtlety on both sides of their position, and deals with them in great breadth and charity. "Their doctrine is wholly to be reproved and disavowed, but the men are to be treated with the usages of a Christian; strike them not as an enemy, but exhort them as brethren." "But for their other capital opinion that it is not lawful for princes to put malefactors to death, nor to take up

defensive arms, nor to minister an oath, . . . it is not to be disputed with such liberty as the former." For "that prince or commonwealth that should be persuaded by them would be exposed to all the insolences of foreigners, and all mutinies of the teachers themselves, and the governors of the people could not do that duty they owe to their people of protecting them from the rapine and malice which will be in the world as long as the world is. And therefore they are to be restrained from preaching such doctrine, if they mean to preserve their government; and the necessity of the thing will justify the lawfulness of the thing. If they think it to themselves, that cannot be helped; so long it is innocent as much as concerns the public; but if they preach it, they may be accounted authors of all the consequent inconveniences and punished accordingly. No doctrine that destroys government is to be endured." Here Taylor goes beyond the problem of mere religious toleration and with wonderful grasp and prevision lays down a broad political principle as sound and as vitally applicable to Twentieth Century as to Seventeenth Century issues.

He has another long section in which he deals with equal breadth and charity with the Papists, concluding that so far as their doctrine is concerned "there is nothing in the foundation of their faith that can reasonably hinder them to be permitted; the foundation of faith stands secure for all their vain and unhandsome superstructures." "But if we consider their doctrines in relation to government and public societies of men, . . . such doctrines as these: the Pope may dispense with all oaths taken to God, or man; he may absolve subjects from their allegiance to their natural prince; . . . heretical princes may be slain by their subjects; . . . now these opinions are a direct overthrow to all human society and mutual commerce, a destruction of government and of the laws and duty and subordination which we owe to princes;

and therefore those men of Rome that . . . do preach them cannot pretend to the excuses of innocent opinions, . . . for God hath not left those truths which are necessary for conservation of public societies of men, so intricate and obscure, but that every one that is honest and desirous to understand his duty will certainly know that no Christian truth destroys a man's being sociable and a member of the body politic, coöperating to the conservation of the whole as well as of itself." Dealing with the doctrine of transubstantiation he excuses Papists from the charge of idolatry in the celebration of mass and decides that this is not a sufficient ground for withholding toleration from them. In this respect he is more liberal than Milton. Considering terms of communion, he insists that churches ought to allow those to commune who agree with them in essentials, and he concludes his great discourse with the story of Abraham and the idolatrous traveler, a story which Franklin also quotes, though probably from another source.

This singularly lucid, skilfully argued and comprehensive book was a bold utterance for the time, and though its main contentions have long since been accepted, it remains still attractive to the reader, a monument to the courage, insight and piety of the author and an evidence of the conscientious efforts of some Anglican divines of the Seventeenth Century for the attainment of freedom in religious opinion. But the treatise has its limitations. Taylor conceived of toleration as the privilege of those only who accept the Apostles' creed. His book is not a plea for universal religious liberty. While he did not deny the claim of those outside this pale to toleration, he did not assert it. What he thought should be done with Jews, Pagans and those who profess religions other than Christianity, he has not told us. His principles, carried to their conclusion, would embrace these, but whether he thought of them, we do not know. The issue was not then sharply raised.

But with all this, considering the time, it is a strikingly progressive book. Here was a man at the age of thirty-four, a follower and protégé of the persecuting Archbishop Laud; separated from chosen friends and books; hiding from persecution in a corner of Wales; pronounced royalist and Episcopalian, writing this most charitable, learned and sustained argument for freedom in religion.

England was in the throes of the Civil War. The King was a prisoner, now of the Parliament, and now of the army, which were craftily struggling against each other for the mastery. The Independents and Presbyterians were at one another's throats. The Presbyterian Directory of Worship was everywhere enforced; the use of the Prayer Book forbidden; and Episcopacy hunted out of almost every parish and diocese in the land. The altars, beautiful sculptures, priceless stained glass, costly vestments and sacramental vessels of church and cathedral were broken, trodden under foot, or carried off. The sacred buildings became stables and outhouses. The church revenues and lands were confiscated. No one could teach or preach without taking an oath to resist every sign of Popery or Prelacy. The Universities were presbyterianized, and toleration was scoffed at by thousands of voices as "the Devil's Masterpiece." "If the Devil had choice whether the hierarchy, ceremonies and liturgy should be established in the kingdom, or a toleration granted, he would choose toleration," said one speaker in Parliament. "We detest and abhor the much endeavored toleration," said a meeting of the London ministers. The Presbyterians were more relentless than Laud. Even the Independents could expect no real liberty at their hands. Still in this uproar, this contention, this bitter struggle of faction, this "dyscrasy," as Taylor calls it, there was an earnest desire on the part of the best men to find some common ground, some accommodation in ecclesiastical matters; and it was without doubt in a desire to further

this, that Taylor published his book in June, 1647. But Episcopacy was at the moment trampled and torn under the feet of contending sects who were not disposed to listen to a plea from their common antagonist; and when at the Restoration the author and his church returned to power, both of them apparently forgot for the time the lessons of his book, which afforded such a platform for all parties.

The book has however been given too much credit in some quarters. Bishop Heber for example calls it, "the first public defence of the principles of religious toleration," "the first attempt on record to conciliate the minds of Christians to the reception of a doctrine which, though now the rule of action professed by all Christian sects, was then by every sect alike regarded as a perilous and pretentious novelty." This is an error, as we shall see. If he had said that the book was the first separate, distinct and comprehensive argument for religious liberty put forth by an Episcopalian he would have been nearer the truth.

Mr. Gosse thinks that there is "an absolutely novel note in Taylor" in that he "first conceived of a toleration not founded upon agreement, or concession, but upon a broad basis of practical piety"; and he says, "that it is not too much to claim for Taylor in the religious and intellectual order, something of the gratitude which we pay, or should pay to Sir James Simpson in the physical order"; that is, "for the blessed anæsthetics which this great innovator [Taylor] introduced into the practice of religious surgery." This gives a doubly false impression. Sir James Simpson was no more the first who introduced anæsthetics in surgery—being preceded by more than a year by Morton in this country—than was Taylor to introduce toleration in religion, being anticipated, not only for generations before by a host of various productions of non-conformists, whose names shine like stars in the

story of this great struggle, but by the writings of a large number of thinkers and leaders in the Anglican Church itself.

Perhaps one of the earliest of these to be mentioned is Richard Hooker, the first part of whose great work on Ecclesiastical Polity was published in 1594. Hooker's work is certainly not a plea for religious liberty. Certain phases of his masterly argument seem to give a basis for intolerance. On the other hand he affirms that many of the points in dispute between the Episcopalian and Non-conformist, in church government, were not fixed, but subject to changes according to circumstances; and when he deals with general principles he concedes much to the Puritan position.

Before Hooker, Parker, the first Archbishop of Elizabeth (1559), though laying down no principle of liberty, practically showed a broad and tolerant spirit towards both Papist and Puritan; and his successor, the weaker Grindal, bravely defended the "Prophesyings" which, inspired by Non-conformity, sprang up outside of the regular establishment, until both the "Prophesyings" and the Archbishop were put down by the iron hand of the great Queen.

Much later and more pronounced than these, however, is that profound thinker and logician, William Chillingworth, 1602-1644, in his relentless pursuit of the truth, first Protestant, then Catholic, then Protestant again, who was at Oxford with Taylor, of whom he complains that "he wants much of the ethical part of a discourser and slighteth too much many times the arguments of those he discourses with." Perhaps the younger man listened with more attention than the older man supposed (they were eleven years apart), for Chillingworth's great work, "The Religion of Protestants, a safe way of Salvation," published in 1637, to this day a marvel of grasp, acuteness and clear English, no doubt furnished Taylor with leading suggestions. Gardiner says concerning the "Liberty of

Prophesying" that "three-fourths of its argument was written under the influence of Chillingworth." Certainly the demonstration of the impossibility of finding any infallible authority in religion, with which a large part of Taylor's book is taken up, is set forth even more clearly by Chillingworth. Up to the date of Chillingworth's book no such thorough-going argument on behalf of the freedom of the individual reason from authority had ever been made, and as a necessary corollary of this, liberty of conscience was as a theory irresistibly demanded by the author as the right of the individual man. Chillingworth says: "Seeing there are contentions among us, we are taught by nature and scripture and experience (so you tell us out of Mr. Hooker), to seek for the ending of them by submitting to some judicial sentence whereunto neither part may refuse to stand. This is very true. Neither should you need to persuade us to seek such means of ending all our controversies, if we could tell where to find it. But this we know that none is fit to pronounce for all the world a judicial, definite, obliging sentence in controversies of religion, but only such a man, or society of men, as is authorized thereto by God. And besides, we are able to demonstrate that it hath not been the pleasure of God to give to any man, or society of men, such authority. And therefore, though we wish heartily that all controversies were ended, as we do that all sins were abolished, yet we have little hope of the one or the other, until the world be ended; and in the meanwhile think it best to control ourselves with, and to persuade others to charity and mutual toleration, seeing God hath authorized no man to force all men to unity of opinion, neither do we think it fit to argue thus: to us it seems convenient there should be one judge of all controversies for the whole world, therefore God hath appointed one: but more modest and more reasonable to collect thus: God hath appointed no such judge of controversies, there-

fore though it seems to us convenient there should be one, yet it is not so: or though it were convenient for us to have one, yet it hath pleased God (for reasons best known to Himself), not to allow us this convenience." (Page 138.)

There is a firmness of tread here which is refreshing, even after two hundred and seventy years and which, though in that violent time it was realized and followed by comparatively few, only two editions of the book being published in 1637-38, yet later became the logical basis for a reasoned toleration. Again he writes: "Seeing falsehood and error could not long stand against the power of truth, were they not supported by tyranny and worldly advantage, he that could assert Christians to that liberty which Christ and his Apostles left them, must needs do truth a most heroical service. And seeing the overvaluing of differences among Christians is one of the greatest maintainers of the schisms of Christendom, he that could demonstrate that only those points of belief are simply necessary to salvation wherein Christians generally agree, should he not lay a very fair and firm foundation of the peace of Christendom? Now the corollary which I conceive would produce these good effects is this: That what man or church soever believes the creed and all the evident consequences of it, sincerely and heartily, cannot possibly (if also he believes the Scriptures), be in any error of simple belief which is offensive to God; nor therefore deserve for any such error to be deprived of his life, or be cut off from the Christian Communion and the hope of salvation. And the production of this again would be this, that whatsoever man or church doth for any error of simple belief, deprive any man, so qualified as above, either of his temporal life or livelihood, or liberty, or of the Church's Communion, and hope of salvation is, for the first, unjust, cruel, and tyrannous; schismatical, presumptuous, and uncharitable, for the second." (Page 268.)

These words, published by a great churchman, ten years before the "Liberty of Prophesying"; seven years before Milton's monumental "Areopagitica"; and more than seven years before Roger Williams's "Bloudy Tenant of Persecution" saw the light, show that even in Episcopal, still more in dissenting ranks, Taylor was very far from being the first to argue for toleration. Chillingworth was roundly denounced by the Presbyterians for his liberality, and a Presbyterian minister, with extraordinary license, bitterly upbraided him at his funeral, and threw into his open grave a copy of his book "The Religion of Protestants" "to rot with him," he said.

But Chillingworth was not the only Anglican that anticipated Taylor in the plea for religious liberty. After two centuries and three quarters, our hearts warm to "the ever memorable John Hales," the "pretty little man, sanguine, of a cheerful countenance, very gentle and courteous, quick and nimble," who used to dress "in violet colored clothes," and as Dean of Windsor and Fellow of Eton lived in hiding for nine weeks on brown bread and beer at sixpence a week, keeping the keys and accounts of the school when both armies in the Civil War sequestered the rents. Secretary of the English delegation at the Synod of Dort, he there learned enough to lead him, as he said, to "bid good night to Calvin." Friend of Chillingworth and Falkland, "nothing troubled him more than the brawls which were grown from religion, and he therefore exceedingly detested the tyranny of the Church of Rome, more for their imposing uncharitably upon the consciences of other men, than for the errors of their opinion; and he would often say that he would renounce the Church of England tomorrow if it obliged him to believe any other Christians should be damned; and that nobody would conclude another man to be damned who did not will him so." (Clarendon, in Preface, Hales's Works, Vol. 1.)

His little tract "Concerning Schisms and Schismatics," written privately probably for Chillingworth, and published without his consent probably about 1640, caused him to be summoned before Laud, who, in spite of Hales's latitudinarian views, seems to have treated him kindly. This tract declares that, "it hath been the common disease of Christians from the beginning not to content themselves with that measure of faith which God and the Scriptures have expressly afforded us, but out of a vain desire to know more than is revealed, they have attempted to discuss things of which we can have no light neither from reason, or revelation; neither have they rested here, but upon pretence of church authority which is none, or of tradition which for the most part is but a figment, they have presumptuously concluded, and confidently imposed upon others a necessity of entertaining conclusions of that nature, and to strengthen themselves have broken out into divisions and factions, opposing man to man, synod to synod, till the peace of the Church vanished beyond possibility of recall. Hence arose those ancient and many separations among Christians occasioned by Arianism, Eutychianism, Nestorianism, Photinianism, Sabellianism and many more, both ancient and in our times, which indeed are but names of schism, however in the common language of the prophets they were called heresies. For heresy is an act of the will, not of reason; and indeed is a lie and not a mistake. . . . But can any man avouch that Arius and Nestorius and others that taught erroneously concerning the Trinity, or the person of our Saviour, did maliciously invent what they taught, and not fall on it by error or mistake? Till that be done, and upon that good evidence, we will think no worse of all parties than needs we must, and take these rents in the Church to be at worst but schisms of opinion. In which case what we are to do is not a point of any great depth of understanding to discover, so be distemper and partiality do

not intervene. I do not see . . . that men of different opinions in Christian religion may not hold communion *in sacris* and both go to one church. Why may I not go, if occasion requires, to an Arian Church, so there be no Arianism in their liturgy? And were liturgies and public forms of service so framed as that they admitted not of particular and private fancies, but contained only such things as in which all Christians do agree, schisms of opinion were utterly vanished."

One is not surprised that Laud was disturbed by the following on conventicles. "In time of manifest corruption and persecution, wherein religious assembling is dangerous, private meetings however beside public order, are not only lawful, but they are of necessity and duty; else how shall we excuse the meetings of Christians for public service in time of danger and persecution, and of ourselves in Queen Mary's days? And how will those of the Roman Church among us put off the imputation of conventicling who are known amongst us privately to assemble for religious exercises against established order?"

In his sermon at St. Paul's cross on "Dealing with erring Christians," speaking of those who hold different views respecting original sin and predestination, Hales says: "The authors of these conceits might both freely speak their minds and both singularly profit the Church; for since it is impossible when Scripture is ambiguous that all conceits should run alike, it remains that we seek out a way, not so much to establish a unity of opinion—which I take to be a thing likewise impossible—as to provide that multiplicity of conceit trouble not the Church's peace. A better way my conceit cannot reach with than that we would be willing to think that these things, which with some show of probability, we deduce from Scripture are at best but our opinion; for this presumptuous manner of setting down our own conclusions under this high commanding form of necessary truths, is generally one of the

greatest causes which keeps the churches this day so far asunder, whereas a gracious receiving of each other by mutual forbearance in this kind, might peradventure in time bring them nearer together. This peradventure, may some man say, may content us in case of opinions indifferent out of which no great inconvenience by necessary and evident proof is concluded; but what recipe have we for him that is fallen into some known and desperate heresy? Even the same with the former. And therefore anciently, heretical and orthodox Christians many times, even in public holy exercises, conversed together without offence."

But Chillingworth and Hales were by no means the only Churchmen whose words and example were on the side of toleration both before and after Taylor wrote his book. It is easy to magnify the harsh dealing of the Established Church with the Catholics, the Non-conforming and the Independent parties before the Civil War and after the Restoration. There is plenty that sounds horrible in all this to our modern ears, unaccustomed to all ecclesiastical punishments, and especially unused to the severe criminal code of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The ecclesiastical machinery of oppression and persecution was no doubt vigorously worked, and when the Puritans and Presbyterians had the power, they knew perfectly well how to make return in kind. But those in the Church of whom Laud was the conspicuous representative, when they had the upper hand, were by no means the only influential factors in the Establishment. There were deep currents running the other way. There was always a thoughtful minority that testified for breadth and liberty. Not to speak of the liberal minded ecclesiastics who protested against the severe measures with which Elizabeth forced conformity upon the people, there were men like the great scholar Archbishop Usher, who died in 1656, declared by even Presbyterian authority "the most learned

and reverend father of our Church," who was universally beloved and who suggested a scheme for a "moderated episcopacy," that attracted even the attention of Cromwell, and, but for the heated passions of the hour, might have formed a workable basis for ecclesiastical union.

There were the divines of Oxford who in February, 1644, brought forward the proposals of the so called "Treaty of Uxbridge," in which Charles and the Parliament sought to find a ground of accommodation, and the first article of which was, "That freedom be left to all persons, of what opinions soever, in matters of ceremony, and that all the penalties of the laws and customs which enjoin those ceremonies be suspended."

It is said indeed that Charles was not sincere, that he did not intend to carry out these proposals. They at least were formulated in good faith by his theological counsellors; they anticipated the proposals made to him by the Army in 1647, and the Toleration Act of 1689, and the Oxford clergy who made them were the first persons, who, acting as a public body, made proposals tending to liberty of religious opinion and practice; but the Presbyterians were in no mood to listen to such propositions. Among these clergymen—long a devoted follower and counsellor of the king—was the gifted Henry Hammond, a profound scholar and a saintly man, whose "Practical Catechism" and sermons, though he was a strong Churchman, breathe a most tolerant spirit, and show that he understood the principles and was ready for measures of comprehension.

There was Richard Baxter who, though at this time Churchman as he was, could not accept the extreme view of either party; critic both of the King and of Parliament, yet by his breadth and tact and evangelical zeal he contrived to unite all the ministers of Kidderminster in practical serviceableness and charity through all those troublous times. There was the witty Bishop Hall of

Norwich who long kept his place by his mingled piety and independence, and who though no Puritan told Laud that rather than be subject to "the slanderous tongues of his informers, he would throw up his rochet."

There was the rollicking, whimsical, yet able, and keen-sighted Thomas Fuller (1608-1661), historian of the English Church, the most popular writer of his times, who, neither follower of Laud nor anything of a Puritan yet had appreciative words for the Separatists while yet loyal to the King.

There was the true Churchman, but leader of the latitudinarian School of English Divines, Benjamin Whichcote, famous as preacher and Platonist, graduate of Emmanuel, the Puritan College of Cambridge, who distinctly favored the Puritan party during the Civil War.

There was the saintly George Herbert, twenty years older than Taylor, keeping faith and hope and charity in his little church at Bemerton till his death, ten years before the Civil War, and writing his quaint poem on "Divinitie" whose breadth anticipates Taylor's book; and again in his poem on the Militant Church describing the evils of the time he says:

"Religion stands on tip toe in our land
Ready to pass to the American strand,"

as though he had sympathy for the Puritans.

And there was the brilliant Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland, who had not the firmness to act up to his lights, but who gathered about him at Great Tew near Oxford a congenial company of thoughtful liberty lovers, among whom were Hales and Chillingworth.

Of course such men as these do not represent the main trend of opinion in the Established Church before or during the Civil War, but they show that Taylor had many forerunners and followers among genuine Churchmen, to say nothing of Dissenters; that the substance of his

book was foreshadowed by many Episcopal thinkers; and that he must have had many sympathizers in Episcopal ranks.

The Non-conforming individuals and bodies certainly deserve great credit which has generally been acknowledged as the earlier and more pronounced advocates of religious liberty in England. Their record in this respect is open. But it is important to remember that with the exception of a few individuals, their aim was to change the whole ecclesiastical policy of the state, and when it was changed, to govern it with as intolerant a hand as their predecessors. It is also important to bear in mind that the Established Church was by no means all blind, or reactionary during this significant period, but that no small part of its culture, its learning, its wisdom and its piety was actively enlisted on the side of liberty of conscience and of opinion.

Of course the enormous obstacle which hindered all parties in the struggle towards the freedom which when in the minority, each in turn longed for, was the entire identification of Church and State. Religion was politics and politics was religion. This was as true under the Parliament as it was under the King; as true of Presbyterianism as of Episcopacy. The control of the government was the aim, desired or dreaded which lay back, consciously or unconsciously, of almost every attempt to express or suppress religious opinion. It cannot be said that freedom was the direct object of any party. It was rather the incidental result of the quarrels of all parties. The fear of the establishment of popery by intrigue, constantly hung over the nation. Whichever party was in control—whether Charles or Cromwell, Laud or the Parliament, the Commonwealth or the Army—could for the time see little or nothing good in its opponents, and for the most part, when in power denied to others the very toleration for which, when it was oppressed, it had pleaded in vain.

Thus slowly as the authority, in that time of violent transition, went revolving round from King and Bishop, to Commonwealth and Protector, from the Presbyterianism of Parliament to the Independency of the Army, till it completed the circle and at the Restoration, came back to King and Bishop again, each party in turn experienced the dangerous responsibility of power and the misery and limitations of oppression, until the inconsistency and folly of attempting to coerce religious opinion and prescribe religious worship by a criminal code, gradually dawned on all hands, and liberty of conscience began to be realized as the only possible remedy for abuses, toleration the only possible foundation for a Christian state and civilization.

Of course it is the persecuted and not the persecutors—the under, and not the upper dog in the fight—who see the beauty of toleration and discover the most potent arguments in its behalf. Hence it is generally among the Protestants; among the individuals and sects, who felt the impulse of the new learning and, beginning to exercise their newly found individualism and liberty, broke away from the established order and in consequence suffered for it—it is among these that we find the earliest and most pronounced advocates of freedom of religious opinion and action. They had little to lose. For the moment they did not have the responsibility of civil and ecclesiastical order, and the anxieties that always arise in connection with the practical solution of difficulties created by reformers.

Mr. Worley in his life of Taylor, properly remarks that the *Liberty of Prophesying* “would have been more valuable if it had been produced when the church was a persecutor instead of when she was persecuted”: and it may be suggested that under such circumstances probably Taylor would never have written it, inasmuch as when the Church came into power at the Restoration, he apparently found

it inconvenient to practise the theories which he had advocated in its weakness.

Bishop Brooks in his little book on Tolerance somewhat too severely speaks of "the tolerance of Jeremy Taylor writing the Liberty of Prophesying when the Parliament were masters in the Land" as "the tolerance of helplessness; the acquiescence in the utterance of error because we cannot help ourselves; the tolerance of persecuted minorities." (Page 20.) "The book is the book of an ecclesiastic. It deals with the impossibility of compulsion as if, if it were possible, compulsion would not be so bad a thing." (Page 42.)

This is hardly fair. Taylor points out as clearly as anyone can that, in the nature of things, "it is unnatural and unreasonable to persecute disagreeing opinions. Unnatural: for understanding being a thing wholly spiritual cannot be restrained, and therefore neither punished by corporal afflictions. . . . You may as well cure the colic by brushing a man's clothes, or fill a man's belly with a syllogism." Yet we shall all agree with Bishop Brooks, when with great discernment, he remarks that "the Liberty of Prophesying had a place which neither of the other books [Williams and Milton], could have filled in English life and literature and religion."

So we leave the great Bishop of Connor and Down and his noble book, with the commendation, two centuries and a quarter later, of his scarcely less distinguished brother, the Bishop of Massachusetts.

AN ANCIENT INSTANCE OF MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

BY SAMUEL UTLEY.

ON October 24, 1668, a committee of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, after solemn consideration, reported that Worcester would support sixty families. A grant of land to several persons was made; the grantees organized as proprietors; after a number of ineffectual attempts, what is now regarded as a final settlement was made in 1713; and on June 14, 1722, an act of incorporation of the town was passed.

Thus there were two corporations, one the proprietors owning the common and undivided land, and the other the town with the usual conditions attending municipal corporations.

It appears by the records of proprietors, as published by the Worcester Society of Antiquity, p. 235, that on the "last tuesday of Sept. 1733," they "Voted that 100 acres of the pooreist land on mill Stone hill be kept Comon for the use of the town for building Stones." Thus we have an attempt of the proprietors of a new town to establish municipal ownership in a stone quarry, 172 years ago; and it occurred to me that the Society might be interested in a brief notice of the history thereof.

It is well established that proprietors, as well as towns, could in the early times, convey title to land by vote duly recorded in their records.

On Feb. 27, 1750, a committee of the proprietors which had been appointed to sell common land, sold to Daniel Heywood all the common land on Millstone Hill, estimated

to be 97 acres, it being the land referred to by the prior vote, this deed being probably made in ignorance of the earlier disposition thereof. This land was later conveyed to one Gleason, and doubt having arisen as to his title, he in 1763 sued his grantor, one Flagg, in the Superior Court of Judicature, which held, that the vote in question passed a fee, that Heywood and his heirs had no title, and gave judgment for Gleason against Flagg; and the proprietors settled with Heywood, but no deed seems to have been made that changed the original status. Thereafter the town assumed title, though not always insisting on it, to the extent of bringing suit. They also had a survey made in 1765, and found 100 acres and 100 rods, and recorded a plan in the town records, giving boundaries in full. They forbade cutting wood, voted not to sell stones or the land itself, allowed the town of Shrewsbury to get stones for their meeting-house steps, appointed committees to care for the land and prosecute trespassers, which in one case seems to have been done, as the town discontinued the action, the defendant being David Chadwick, one of the persons interested in the adverse title. At various times committees were appointed to examine the title, who reported that the town had a fee.

In 1824 William E. Green, who held part of the Heywood title, cut wood on the premises, and the town brought suit against him for trespass. This case was taken to the Supreme Judicial Court, and is reported in 2 Pick. 425. Each party claimed title by possession.

The court held that the case of Gleason v. Flagg, in the Provincial Court, was not a bar, because the parties were not the same, and that plaintiff had no title by possession. It also held, that the town had not a fee in the land but only, in the language of the court, "good right to enter for the purpose mentioned in the grant, and if they at any time exceeded their legal rights," it did not avail them, in the absence of twenty years' exclusive possession. The court

said that the land is not granted in express terms, but only a limited use for a particular purpose, and that a grant of mines does not carry the land. So judgment was for the defendant.

For many years no act appears of record.

In 1848, our associate, the late Andrew H. Green, became owner of most of the premises, and in 1851 sued Samuel Putnam, who owned about ten acres of the balance, the case being reported in 8 *Cush.* 21. The case was submitted, on an agreed statement of facts, in which it appeared in detail, that defendant had taken stone for every conceivable purpose and had sold it to be used within and without Worcester in the same way, establishing the business of a quarryman on the premises for his own use and benefit. It also appeared, that for over fifty years other inhabitants of Worcester had gone there as they chose, cleared away wood, brush and soil, quarried stone which they furnished to such other inhabitants of Worcester as wanted it, claiming an interest in the places they had thus occupied, and selling them to others, stone being dressed on or near the place of quarry.

The plaintiff claimed that the vote was a mere license, that not being recorded in the Registry of Deeds, it was revoked by a subsequent conveyance, that it only conveyed a life estate to the then existing inhabitants of Worcester, that it was for corporate purposes only, that defendant could not sell stone, that the use was strictly limited to building stones, and that hewing stone and getting out stone as a trade was not allowable. The question that the vote was vague and invalid, in not establishing boundaries, which was raised but not expressly decided in the earlier case, was not referred to.

The court sustained the vote as a grant, saying that it is quite too late to question it, as the law is settled, that large tracts of land throughout the province were conveyed in the same way, the proprietors' books being the great source

of title. It was also held, that the town took the title for its present and future inhabitants, the court referring to commons, training fields and burial grounds as being held in a like manner, and that the use was not for building in a restricted sense, but, in the language of the court, "for all those structures and purposes for which such material in the progress of time and the arts may be made useful." The court also said: "it may be proper to add that the grant of the right to the stone carries with it, as a necessary incident, the right to enter and work the quarry and to do all that is necessary and usual for the full enjoyment of the right, such as hewing the stone and preparing it for use." "The only limitation, as to the persons by whom the right is to be enjoyed, is that the stones shall be for the use of the inhabitants of Worcester." "Therefore whether it is quarried and prepared by the inhabitants for their own use, or by persons who, like the defendant, make it their business to procure it and get it ready for the use of others, it is equally within the terms of the grant, so long as the stone is applied to the use of the inhabitants of the town." And this was true both of public and private use.

Thus the rights of the city and its inhabitants, seem to have been fully established by the highest court in the state, and it only remains to be seen how the experiment has worked as a practical question. The owners of the fee have not found the condition satisfactory, and have in various ways tried to obstruct the use of the quarry, putting up gates, posting notices, threatening suits and otherwise, while the city, by votes of the city council has asserted its rights and those of its inhabitants, and has agreed to stand behind all persons that are in any way molested in exercising such rights; but I do not find anything that changes the condition as left by the case of *Green v. Putnam*, though some of the dealers running quarries there have of late taken leases from the owners of the fee.

The stone is fully described in Perry and Emerson's

Geology of Worcester, Mass., and in general terms is a granite which on exposure shows stains like iron rust. It is thought to be of great depth. It has cracks and cross cracks, which break it into irregular blocks. It is hard to cut, is located northwesterly of the Worcester Insane Hospital, on the top of a hill about three hundred feet above the Union railroad station and away from the city. The stone itself is not as attractive to all people as some of the many other stones with which it has to compete. Some of the large builders have quarries of their own, located on the line of a railroad, and with their superior capital and enterprise are able to compete with a free quarry. Most or all quarries have what is termed refuse, consisting of stones with spots which are unfit for buildings or work in sight, but which are adapted for foundations and uses where such defects are not objectionable. These stones are already quarried, are in the way, and the owners are glad to dispose of them. These and perhaps other causes have resulted in a diminished use of this stone.

But it still remains true, that stones cannot be sold in Worcester at a price that the inhabitants are unwilling to pay, rather than to resort to their own free, municipal quarries. As examples of buildings erected from this stone, the principal building of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, the Worcester Normal School and the Worcester Insane Hospital may be mentioned, though the latter came from their own grounds, which adjoin the quarry.

There is no novelty in the doctrine that there may be a separate ownership of land, and the mines thereon. (Washburn, *Real Property*, Vol. I., page 17.) In English law gold and silver mines belonged to the crown, as being necessary for coinage, and might be reserved in grants of land. In Kent's *Commentaries*, Vol. 3, p. 378, it is said that "it is a settled and fundamental rule with us that all valid and individual title to land within the United States, is derived from the grants from our own local governments or from

that of the United States, or from the crown, or royal chartered governments established here prior to the Revolution."

In the charter of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, the land is described with the additional clause, "and also all mines and minerals, as well royal mines of gold and silver as other mines and minerals, precious stones and quarries."

At first the laws of the United States excepted minerals in the provisions for taking up land, but the occupants made miners' rules among themselves, which were recognized by the courts, on the fictitious ground of presuming a license from the government; so the public lost all rights therein. This in 1866 was regulated by statute. Had the doctrine of royal mines been applied to quarries of stone, coal, oil and other like substances, as the Proprietors of Worcester applied it to stone, a very different history might have been written. As it is, those proprietors made an early and successful solution of a problem which of late has much vexed the people of the civilized world.

In Re

THE WILL OF THOMAS HOARE.

In justice to Mr. J. HENRY LEA of South Freeport, Me., and London, England, who translated and edited the Will as it appeared in our Proceedings of October, 1904, the Committee of Publication offer this statement.

The whole mass of manuscript and correspondence on the subject had been delivered to our late Vice-President, Senator HOAR, in his lifetime, and he spoke upon the subject at the Meeting in October, 1903. After Mr. Hoar's death the material was handed to the committee by his private secretary. It is the rule to send proofs of all papers to the authors or editors, but when the Proceedings for October last were about to go to press there were special reasons for including the Hore will in that number. Although Mr. Lea was in London and could not see the proof, the matter was so carefully prepared and type-written that it seemed safe to entrust its supervision to

the committee, and it was not sent to Mr. Lea. As might perhaps be expected, some errors crept in from a misapprehension of the abbreviations, which in Mr. Lea's eyes seemed very serious, and he has expressed his mortification and regret, in which the committee fully sympathize.

The committee was much impressed with the work of Mr. Lea, which showed great learning and much careful, diligent labor, and regret that it appeared in print without having had his revision.

PROCEEDINGS

1881.

American Antiquarian Society

ANNUAL MEETING, HELD IN WORCESTER,

OUTDOOR ST. (1881).



PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY F. L.

OFFICE, 104 STATE ST.

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PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1905, AT THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

THE meeting was called to order by the President, the Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, at 10.30 A. M.

The following members were present:

Edward E. Hale, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Edward L. Davis, James F. Hunnewell, Edward H. Hall, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Andrew Mc F. Davis, Daniel Merriman, William B. Weeden, Henry H. Edes, Edward Channing, George E. Francis, Edward H. Thompson, G. Stanley Hall, William E. Foster, Charles P. Bowditch, Francis H. Dewey, Carroll D. Wright, Henry A. Marsh, Frederick A. Ober, John Green, Rockwood Hoar, James L. Whitney, William T. Forbes, Leonard P. Kinnicutt, George H. Haynes, Waldo Lincoln, George P. Winship, Austin S. Garver, Samuel Utley, James W. Brooks, E. Harlow Russell, Benjamin T. Hill, Edmund A. Engler, George L. Kittredge, Alexander F. Chamberlain, William MacDonald, Edward G. Bourne, Alexander H. Vinton, Clarence W. Bowen, Francis H. Lee, Daniel B. Updike, David Casares, Deloraine P. Corey.

Dr. CARROLL D. WRIGHT, in connection with the report of the Council, read a paper with the subject: "The History of Labor Organizations in Ancient, Mediæval and Modern Times."

Rev. Dr. EDWARD EVERETT HALE presented a memorial of the late Vice-President of the Society, Senator GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR. In the course of his paper Dr. Hale said:—

“When Mr. Thomas established this Society, there were not so many literary societies as there are now in the country, and a special Act was passed in the early days of this Society, giving the American Antiquarian Society any or all papers printed by the government, so that anybody who is in Washington and wants to rake up something, has the power and privilege of looking back to this old statute, which is just as much a law of this country as any law; and they can make any arrangement they choose about the method of distributing the documents, but this American Antiquarian Society by law has the right to anything which the government of the United States prints.”

Dr. HALE read a sonnet written by Rev. Dr. Roundslay, of Great Britain, on hearing of the death of Senator Hoar. In speaking of Dr. Roundslay, Dr. Hale remarked:—“We were at a public dinner party, when Mr. Hoar said, ‘I must go down and speak to Roundslay, for I brought him here.’ I said, ‘Who is Roundslay?’ He said, ‘If you don’t know Roundslay, you don’t know the first poet in Great Britain.’ Mr. Hoar always spoke well of the people he liked, but I believe he was right in this instance. I went down and shook hands with Roundslay, and he said at once: ‘Mr. Hale, you have a first-rate ballad of Paul Revere; why isn’t there a ballad to the other man, the man who went out and roused the country—Dorsey?’ I said, ‘If the first poet in England asks me that question, I will say that as soon as he will write me the ballad, we will print it; but I warn you not to let the public know what you have said to me, because if you do, you will have six hundred letters the day after tomorrow from the differ-

ent Dorseys, for they are very sensitive on the subject, and are eager to have a ballad written.' So it has always been a joke between us as to when he would write the ballad, which he has never done."

Dr. JOHN GREEN, of St. Louis, read a sketch of Henry Hitchcock, LL.D., late president of the Law Association of the United States, and a former resident of Worcester.

The treasurer, NATHANIEL PINE, presented his report. He announced that the Society had received from the estate of the late Andrew H. Green, the legacy left by him, which after deducting the inheritance tax amounts to \$4,839.45.

The report of the Librarian was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

The report of the Council being now before the Society, it was voted that the Society accept the same, and that it be referred to the Committee of Publication.

On a ballot for President forty-two ballots were cast, all for the Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

Dr. HALE said:

"Every gentleman here who is interested in Revolutionary history has used the marvellous reproductions which Mr. Stevens made. I have received from the representatives of Mr. Stevens's estate a very careful catalogue of the immense index of those documents. It is understood that this index contains the documents of England, France, The Hague and Spain, and that it is now offered for sale in this country. I suppose that the cost of purchasing will be very considerable, but a good many of us who have been interested in that literature hope to bring something to bear in Washington this winter looking towards an appropriation with which to purchase the index for the Library of Congress."

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS said in reference to the subject: "I was in London and wanted to get a copy of the documents mentioned in the English Historical manuscript collections. I gave a memorandum to Mr. Stevens of the documents, and he agreed to get a copy and send it to me. After I got home I received a copy, but instead of its coming from the office referred to, it came from the collection of Lord Lansdowne. Of course I was not satisfied that I had gotten the copy that I wished, but by some curious chain—I do not know how it occurred—he had given me through his index an exact copy of the documents I wanted, procured from another source. It seems there were duplicates at these two places."

At the suggestion of Dr. HALE, it was voted that the Council be requested to unite with other literary bodies in securing this manuscript index.

The Recording Secretary announced that the Council recommends for election to the Society the following gentlemen:—

Henry Holmes, of Washington, D. C.

Clarence S. Brigham, of Providence, R. I.

Those gentlemen were duly elected by ballot.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, from a committee appointed to nominate the other officers, reported the following list:

Vice-Presidents.

EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury, Mass.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL. D., of Boston, Mass.

Council:

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.

WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence, R. I.

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, Litt.D., of Portland, Me.
CARROLL DAVIDSON WRIGHT, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.
EDMUND ARTHUR ENGLER, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A.M., of Cambridge, Mass.
ELIAS HARLOW RUSSELL, of Worcester, Mass.
SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B., of Worcester, Mass

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, Litt.D., of New Haven, Connecticut.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln, Mass.

Recording Secretary.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

Treasurer.

NATHANIEL PAINE, A. M., of Worcester, Mass.

Committee of Publication.

EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury, Mass.
NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES CARD SMITH, A.M., of Boston, Mass.

Auditors.

AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.
BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Biographer,

SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B., of Worcester, Mass.

The RECORDING SECRETARY was instructed by unanimous vote to cast a single ballot in favor of the report of the nominating committee, which he did, and the above list of officers was duly elected.

The PRESIDENT said:—

“Among the gentlemen present with us today, who have come from a great distance, is our associate Mr. DAVID CASARES, A.M., of Merida de Yucatan, Federal Inspector of the railroads in that state, and a Commissioner of Public Construction. I will ask Mr. Casares to address the Society.”

Mr. CASARES read a paper entitled, “Yucatan and its Water Supply.”

“The Jackson-VanBuren Papers” was the subject of a paper by Prof. WILLIAM MACDONALD of Brown University.

Mr. EDWARD H. THOMPSON, United States Consul to Yucatan, presented the next paper, entitled: “A Page from American History.”

On motion of Dr. S. A. GREEN, it was voted that the papers which have been read be presented to the Committee of Publication, and that the thanks of the Society be extended to the authors, and especially to the two gentlemen from Yucatan.

The meeting was dissolved at two o'clock. The members present repaired to the house of President SALISBURY, where lunch was served.

Attest:

CHARLES A. CHASE,
Recording Secretary.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN ANCIENT, MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN TIMES.

BY CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

AT the kind suggestion of President Salisbury, I present a brief paper on Labor Organizations in Ancient, Mediæval and Modern Times.

I do not propose to discuss such organizations in detail, but principally to show the difference in character at different times, and also wherein they were similar. Unfortunately the history of such organizations in ancient times is exceedingly meagre. It was not the habit of writers to make much mention of the interests of labor or how the lower orders earned their living or conducted their affairs. It was quite natural perhaps when historians were recording the events of administration, of wars or of great racial changes, to omit the consideration of what then seemed the lesser affairs of life, but a great deal has been unearthed by modern archæologists from inscriptions on slabs and monuments, which throws some light upon this subject of labor organizations and which helps us to understand the slow development of the workingman through the ages. The slabs containing the inscriptions have been lying without observation, some on their original sites, others in museums. However, they have been recorded, catalogued and numbered; but their importance has been little understood or little considered. This, in connection with the lack of interest on such subjects, accounts in a way for the meagre history.

Mr. C. Osborne Ward, for a long time an associate of mine in the Department of Labor at Washington, worked

many years in translating old accounts in Greek and Latin, in studying inscriptions and their translations, his devotion resulting in the publication of a history of the ancient working people.

We all understand the modern labor organization, or think we do. We certainly understand that it exists, but it exists in various forms, chiefly as the trade union, which is a society of working people usually pursuing the same occupation, the society being organized for the purpose of mutual help in providing for sick and death benefits and sometimes out-of-work benefits; but chiefly it is organized to resist the attempts to reduce wages and to insist upon higher wages, fewer hours of labor and improved conditions of shop work. The Unions sometimes have insurance features attached to them and for many years have paid out large sums of money in this way. They attempt to regulate the business in which the members are engaged. Until quite recently the trade union, consisting of workers in one craft, cared nothing for the interests or welfare of the workers in other crafts, but now, through the sympathetic strike, one trade union is quite likely to take part in the conflicts between the members of another union in an entirely different occupation and their employers.

Other labor organizations are broader, more philosophical, like the Knights of Labor, an organization dating from 1869. This body not only strives for the usual purposes of trades unions, but goes beyond by its endeavors to unify wage-earners without regard to the trades followed. The proposed aim of this body is to secure the fullest enjoyment of wealth which they claim is created by workers. These two types are characteristic of all labor organizations. The one primarily is selfish, looking to the interest of its own craft, the other is broader, more philosophical, looking to the interests of all crafts. It is not strange that the first succeeds and the latter practically fails. Perhaps in another state of society the broader basis will win.

Until a very few years ago modern trades unions were supposed to be the direct outcome of the guilds of the middle ages. All writers, or nearly all, took this view, and undertook to account for the origin of modern organizations by tracing the development of the mediæval guilds to modern times. It is now seen that these modern unions are not direct descendants of the craft-guilds of the middle ages, and there is no evidence that they are such descendants; all the historical proof seems to be the other way.

Perhaps the earliest writer to make this distinction was Brentano, in his *Guilds and Trades Unions*, where he says: "These guilds were not unions of laborers in the present sense of the word, but persons who, with the help of some stock, carried on their craft on their own account." It is probably nearer the truth to conclude that through the varying and ephemeral organizations of wage-earners and journeymen which existed 300 or 400 years ago, and which were composed solely of wage earners, these modern unions have taken their roots. Yet this direct connection does not have historical confirmation, for such associations were condemned by the law and there was too close a resemblance between them and the guild system which preceded. The best that can be said is that there was a class of employees in England who neither strove to become masters, nor were in condition to seek controlling influence, who first started the trade union idea.

The 18th century saw a persistent development of the capitalist employer and a decreased ability on the part of the worker to own and control the material and tools of his especial trade. Perhaps it was the factory system as much as any other element that developed the modern trades union, because while, before the inauguration of the factory system, the workingmen and their employers lived and worked in very close personal relationship, under the factory system this relationship was lost in large degree.

The employer, instead of having his journeymen and apprentices around him and feeding them at his own table, became the employer of hundreds, and now of thousands, thus severing that close personal relation of the olden time.

Trades unions sought to take the place through their organizations of that relationship, to protect their members against what they considered the encroachments of capital, to look after the welfare of members in various ways, and through organization to be in a position to resist or enforce demands. True it is that these organizations have become powerful, and in this country alone constitute at least ten or twelve per cent of the wage-earners of the country, and they number now probably two million members. This proportion of the total is a little larger in this country than in England or on the Continent.

The whole history of the development of trades unions is interesting as an economic and social study and they are exercising a great influence in the conduct of modern industry. In a nutshell, the modern labor organization of whatever character is composed of wage-earners only. The members pay dues and receive such benefits as may accrue.

The mediæval guild was an entirely different affair. It may have sprung from some form of ancient organization, but in its more essential elements it did not. Mediæval conditions originated in German conditions, adapted, however, and moulded by the Roman civilization, but wherever the Germanic element exercised any influence, whether in Germany, England, France, Italy or Spain, the tribes of Germany that carried that influence found some sort of a labor union and in some sense inherited them. Notwithstanding this the guild of mediæval days was more thoroughly German than Roman, for the Roman guilds were made up more essentially of slaves, as we shall see, while the guilds of the middle ages found their membership among the free men, but in their composition they were not what

we understand as trades unions, although they resembled them.

The name itself is somewhat significant, being derived, so it is supposed, from the Anglo-Saxon word gylden or gildan, meaning "to pay," for a very important feature of the guilds was the contribution by or assessment of its members. Curiously enough the word signified any kind of an association, without reference to its purpose, where a common fund was created through individual contributions of members. But it is certain, in accordance with all modern authorities, that these early guilds had no connection with trade or industry; they were social, sometimes protective, sometimes political and almost unanimously composed of a religious spirit. As Gierke puts it: "The old Germanic guild embraced the whole man and was intended to satisfy all human purposes; it was a union such as exists today only in our towns or cities. It answered at the same time religious, moral, social, economical and political purposes." This might apply to our early town settlements in New England.

Some of these guilds were social and charitable. Growing out of them or existing with them were the guilds-merchant and the craft-guilds. The earlier of these were the guilds-merchant, securing great power and sometimes constituting the governing force of towns, but the craft-guilds gained in strength and ultimately took the place of the guilds-merchant. It is with the craft-guilds that we have to deal.

Brentano, in his History of Guilds and Trades Unions, argues that they were associations of craft-guilds to protect themselves from the "Abuse of power on the part of the lords of the town who tried to reduce the free to the dependence of the unfree." This view is not generally supported.

Dr. Cunningham, in his History of Industry and Commerce, took the ground that these guilds were "called into being not out of antagonism to existing authorities, but as new institutions to which special parts of their own duties

were delegated by the borough officers or the local guild-merchant," while another authority, Prof. Ashley, late of Harvard University, takes the ground that they were self-governing bodies of craftsmen, more or less under municipal control but without force. He thinks they are in no case to be identified with modern trades unions. In fact, authoritative writers, as already indicated, have taken that view.

While the guilds-merchant may be designated as monopolies in traffic, the craft-guilds certainly were monopolies in production. They were organizations of employers and had charge of trade in cities. No one could carry on any trade, either in the city or its surroundings, unless he became a member of the craft-guild. While the social features, consisting of gatherings, processions, feasts, etc., were an important element in the guilds, they also provided for assistance to the needy and for the common welfare; but these features were insignificant in the constitution of the craft-guilds. Their true significance was economic not social, and thus they have been confounded with modern trades unions. To secure membership there must be a full knowledge of the details of a trade, for the principal provisions of the craft, as indicated, in fact the very soul of its existence, consisted in regulations relative to the excellence of products and the capacity of workmen.

Much good resulted from these guilds, such as the prohibition of night work or sales by candle-light. They also were important in the cathedral building ages, the religious features of the guild, with the skill it could command, giving it large influence. They developed the apprenticeship system, but the guilds were not a monopoly in one sense, for any one could become apprentice and the number was limited only by the ability of the master to support them, or by considerations of a public nature. The apprentice formed a part of the master's family; he was to keep his master's secrets, doing no injury or committing waste on his goods; he was not to frequent taverns or to betroth

himself without his master's permission, or to mingle in any way with lewd women.*

All disputes were settled primarily by the wardens of the guilds, some of whom were chosen from the ranks of the journeymen themselves. The journeyman was protected against exactions on the part of an unscrupulous master, so conflicts in interest were unknown. The journeyman always looked forward to the period when he would be admitted to the freedom of the trade. There was no insuperable obstacle thrown in the path of the workman; the time was the period of supremacy of labor over capital, and the master himself worked.

These mediæval guilds expanded were really composed of masters and men to a certain extent; certainly all had to be members of or workers in a trade. There were journeymen's societies contemporaneous with the guilds, such as fraternities of servants and others. The unions were everywhere confined to the youths who gradually became masters and were then enrolled as full members of the craft-guild proper. These unions were therefore fitting schools for the guilds, but as time went on there was a change and the guilds became wealthy and powerful, and thus secured the hatred of the people, and their downfall came at various dates in different countries but from the early to the middle part of the 17th century.

There is little or no similarity between these guilds and modern labor organizations, except in so far as the guilds and the modern trades unions seek to regulate the apprenticeship system and to secure to the masters in some respects aid and assistance. Their antagonism lies in the fact that the guild served to secure for the master the labor of the apprentice for a very long time at a very low rate of wages or for no wages at all, to keep down the wages of the journeyman and to keep down competition by limiting the number of masters.

*Seligman: *Mediæval Guilds of England*.

That such unions or organizations or associations have had an existence is well known to historians, but, as I have intimated, they have not been understood or very carefully studied. But the fact is established that they existed, and they were very largely impregnated with some religious cult. They shaped their course from that of the aristocrats who worshipped the shades of their ancestors. The workingmen, however, in their unions had their patron gods.

Like all history, the facts concerning early organizations are nebulous and hazy, so the date of the first labor organization cannot be given. It is certain, however, to have been at a very early date, for Plutarch in his *Theseus* relates that as early as 1180 B. C. there arose a demand from the common people to be allowed to enter into the Eleusinian mysteries. The workingmen complained that they were excluded from the aristocratic religious rites, their employers, the aristocrats of the time, taking the ground that these workingmen had no souls. Thus the workingmen's thought came strongly into view at that early day, and it resulted in the organizations of the time.

Trades unions were common in Solon's days. The twelve tables of the Roman law distinctly specified the manner of these organizations. References may be found in the time of Joshua (1537-1427 B. C.), to trades unions, and those of us who are members of the most ancient but now speculative trade union and are master workmen, are familiar with those of the time of Solomon and know how Hiram of Tyre, the architect of the Temple of Jerusalem, organized his workmen. He had with him 3200 foremen from Tyre and 40,000 free artificers, but Phidias it is said employed 50,000 unionist craftsmen ten years in designing and completing the Parthenon.

Mommsen relates that in the time of Numa Pompilius there were innumerable communal associations. These organizations consisted mostly of freed men, but it is diffi-

cult to learn just what inspired them. The right of organization in very ancient time extended all over Europe, so far as is known. Numa Pompilius tolerated these organizations; in fact he ordered that the entire working population be distributed into eleven guilds. Mommsen does not quite agree to this, although it is given on the authority of Plutarch. Mommsen concludes that there were eight classes, but the distinction is of no consequence for the purposes of this paper.

The trades were distinct and covered all the arts of antiquity. During the reign of Numa the trades unions made great advancement; skilled workmen were required during all the war-like times, and the workers had their golden era, so far as ancient times are concerned. The distinct character, however, remains an unwritten page, but the right of combination continued for over 600 years, there being no interruption until 58 years before Christ. Then it was that the industrial population of Rome was considered outcast, and being well organized they exerted considerable, even powerful, political influence.

King Numa, while not originating the union of the trades at Rome, permitted and encouraged what already existed. The *Collegium* was a positive trade union, originally created for the purpose of mutual aid and protection. A trade union of today, while protective, also performs the function of an aid society, as insurance, burial funds, sick funds, etc., and this was true in Numa's time. So the *collegia*, while maintaining their economic or trade union purpose of securing mutual advantages in trade relations, sometimes passed for religious institutions. Sometimes the burial society was distinct and had a name of its own. This was true of the early Greek unions, and those who ate at a common table were burial societies, ship carpenters, boat makers, millers, firemen, wine dealers, etc., etc. These *collegia* were found in the Roman Empire, Asia Minor, the Greek Islands, Spain and Gaul, as well as in Greece and

Rome, and they were established in England by the Romans and thus probably gave rise to the mediæval guilds.

Ward, to whom I have referred, gives a list of thirty-five trades unions existing at one time under the law of Constantine. All the stone cutting, mason work, everything in the way of art was done by the unions. The victualing systems were carried on by unions, as well as the manufacturing trades. There were also unions of players among the Greeks and the Romans. We have heard something of the influence of St. Crispin in this commonwealth. They had a powerful trade union in the olden time. The story of the origin is too long to be repeated, but it grew out of the persecution of two brothers named Crispin and Crispinian. These Crispins offended by embracing christianity, settled in Soissons and preached by day and made shoes in the evening. They were finally executed by Maximian, but they had first founded the order of Crispins which exists at the present time.

There was a remarkable and curious trade union of patch-workers and junkmen or rag-pickers. This is shown by inscriptions to have existed. The image makers are perhaps among the most interesting in ancient history. These organizations worked for the gods, the Pagan objecting to the new religion because christianity repudiated idolatry. Thus they fought christianity because it interfered with idol, amulet, palladium and temple drapery manufacture.

The trades unions were organized of skilled workers, and they directed their talents to the protection of the Pagan priesthood with its innumerable images and Pagan worship. It is remarkable that most of the work in the times of which we are speaking was performed by trades unions instead of isolated individuals, as in our modern age. The ancient people were then fairly prosperous both during war and peace. All labor was humiliating, and this made it easier for the governing powers to encourage trades unions, for the State was their great employer.

It is quite evident that the labor organizations of ancient times had a good effect in an economical way, but the members were branded by the political and religious jealousy of Paganism as wretches, so they could take no part in any political question by which the system of organization could be developed, all the power being in the employers. Those who gave up Paganism saw in the birth of Christianity a new source or a new power for the development, and it is now contended that Christ himself was a member of a trade organization of some kind, and that he sought to regenerate the earth or to bring heaven on earth through such organization, by removing the humiliation under which the laborer worked, bringing him to realize the social results of developed organization and thus enabling him to see that his true salvation depended upon lifting himself out of the cramped conditions in which he lived. All agree as to what Christ sought to do on earth, but all will not agree that he used for his means the trade organizations of his day, although he may have been a member of one or more of them. Coming as he did from the ranks of labor it is reasonable to suppose that he worked with them in their organizations.

From this brief statement relative to trades unions in ancient times, it is seen that they more nearly resembled the modern trade union than the mediæval organizations, for the ancient unions were economic in their purposes, regulating or seeking to regulate, conditions of labor and the control or monopoly of trades. This allies them more closely with the modern trades unions.

GEORGE F. HOAR.

BY EDWARD E. HALE.

THE PRESIDENT of the Society has asked me to prepare a paper for our records, on what I will call the literary life of Senator Hoar. By this the President and I both mean, some notice, however brief, of his literary and historical interests. Of these he never lost sight even in the darkest gloom of the great political questions of half a century. He says himself in a sentence which is pathetic, "Down to the time when I was admitted to the bar, and, indeed for a year later, my dream and highest ambition were to spend my life as what is called an office lawyer, making deeds, and giving advice in small transactions. I supposed I was absolutely without capacity for public speaking."

So little does a man know himself. So little does a young man forecast his own future. I can remember those days. And I know how sincere this statement of his is. He really thought that he could not speak extemporaneously, and yet I lived to hear him make some of the most quick retorts which were ever listened to in either house of Congress.

He says, "I expected never to be married; perhaps to earn twelve or fifteen hundred dollars a year, which would enable me to have a room of my own in some quiet house and to collect rare books which could be had without much cost."

It was at that early period that I first knew him and from that early period till he died, I may say that we were near friends. I have a certain right, therefore, to speak of the underlying tastes and principles which asserted

themselves in the fifty-five years of life which followed on his entrance at the bar. I remember hearing someone laugh at the advice which he gives to young men who would prepare for public life. Some one had asked what was the best training for a public speaker, and quite unconsciously Mr. Hoar replied that if a young man wanted to be a public speaker he would do well to read the Greek orators in the original language. There is something a little droll in the thought of such advice as given to what the public calls a "rail splitter" or a "bobbin boy." But he said it perfectly unconsciously. I suppose he was thinking of his own young life and he knew very well that what Mr. Adams calls the Greek fetish is a fetish very easily conciliated. I remember him the first winter he was in Worcester, as preferring to read Plato in the original to going into the pleasant evening society of the town, so that it was with some little difficulty that we youngsters made him take his part in social entertainments. Almost to the day of his death he maintained such early studies, which were, indeed, no longer studies.

By the kindness of Mr. Rockwood Hoar, I have here his unpublished translation of Thucydides. When of late years you called upon him of a sudden at his own home, you were as apt as not to find him standing at his desk and advancing that translation by a few lines, or revising it. Indeed, he reverenced the masters in whatever line of literature or life. You never met him but he surprised you by some apt quotation, perhaps from somebody you had never heard of, and it seems to me fair to say that the wide range of such reading is to be remembered at once as cause and effect in that sunny cheerfulness, confidence, and courage which everyone has noted who has attempted to give any analysis or discussion of his character.

As I have spoken of the translation of Thucydides, I ought to say that I do not believe he had any thought of publishing it. He did not mean to throw discredit in any

way upon the translations which existed. But rather, he meant, if I may use the phrase, to bind himself to the determination that he would once more read Thucydides and would read him carefully. I do not know,—I wish someone would tell us, who first called Thucydides's history “the hand book of statesmen.” Within intelligible limits, I think, perhaps, Mr. Hoar would have accepted that phrase. In making one more version into English of the great historian, however, he was working to please himself, without any care or thought as to whether his work was or was not a better literary work than Jowett's or Dale's, or any other translator's. I like to say this because there was not in him the least of that eagerness to have everything published which is one of the superficial absurdities of our time.

With such tastes and habits he was glad to accept the invitations which he received right and left to address the literary societies of the colleges. A collection of such addresses, many of them elaborate in their detail, would in itself make a very interesting volume of the history of the higher education. I have an address at Amherst on the “Place of the College Graduate in American Life,” with the date of 1879. In an address before the Law Class of the Howard University he spoke on “The Opportunity of the Colored Leader.” At the anniversary of the Yale Law School he spoke on the “Function of the American Lawyer in the Founding of States.”

His addresses at Plymouth on Forefather's Day, his Eulogy on Garfield, delivered in this city, his address on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of Worcester, his address at the dedication of the Public Library in Lincoln, Massachusetts, his address on Robert Burns, his address on Emerson, are to be spoken of as studies of permanent value. When in 1888 the state of Ohio celebrated its own centennial, Mr. Hoar was very properly requested by the authorities in Ohio to deliver the oration as representing the State

of Massachusetts, whose colony under Manasseh Cutler founded the City of Marietta. I had the pleasure of hearing that address. To this moment it is a great historical monument of a great occasion.

I have asked the Society to print as a matter of public convenience the titles of the 193 speeches and addresses which are contained in the sixteen volumes in his own library, a list which has been furnished us by the kindness of his son.

Of his papers read before this Society, the memory is fresh in the minds of all of us. He loved the Society and never forgot its work or its interests; and the broad national views which his life in Washington enabled him to take of the whole country gave him an opportunity to serve us in a thousand ways which were not open to other men.

Every such word of his in education or in history, is an original study and he is sure to go to the foundations. One of the representatives of Massachusetts in speaking of him before the House of Representatives cites the modest phrase of Mr. Webster, who says that the only genius he was aware of was a genius for hard work, and he applies that phrase to Mr. Hoar. It is a happy statement and it ought to be added that Mr. Hoar's literary work always seems to be spontaneous, or to be amusement or play. In general, the same remark would apply to it all which I have made of his *Thucydides*. In truth, he loved what we call study, and though no man was more social or welcomed a visitor more cordially, yet from one end of the year to another he would have been happy if he were alone with his books.

We remember here how often he gave dignity, and even solemnity, to our proceedings by his careful references to the work of the English divines. Our friend, Dr. Merriam, at our last meeting reminded us in the careful study which he made of Jeremy Taylor, of one of Mr. Hoar's suggestions. There is a very pathetic anecdote of a sacred

pilgrimage which he and Mrs. Hoar made to the parsonage of the poet Herbert. And if I have a right to say it, I will say, that no man among us had a more careful knowledge of the Puritan leaders in the seventeenth century, or of the really devout scholars in the Church of England in the next century. In the very last interview I had with him, he recalled some verses of Dr. Watts which are omitted in most of our hymn books. This might have happened with a superficial reader, but when with his own care he repeated the words, you could not but remember that from Milton to Montgomery he was familiar with all the sacred poets of English literature.

One instance out of a hundred will serve to illustrate the course of his life. In the year 1882, with his life in Washington full of the public duties of a hundred acquaintances which pressed upon a leading member of Congress, his attention was arrested by Mr. Dwight's report of Stevens's index on the Franklin Papers. I happen to speak of this detail because I was in Washington at the moment when that report was brought before the Library Committee. Mr. Hoar acquainted himself with every detail of the curious history of those papers and explained them before the joint Library Committee of which he was a member. He compelled the attention of leading members to the subject, he followed it from day to day,—I might say, from hour to hour; and eventually secured the grant which was necessary for the purchase of the papers, which now make a possession so valuable to the Library of Congress. I have a thousand times had occasion to use those papers and I never do so without thinking of the man who could stop in what are called larger interests to see that such a detail was attended to.

No one visits the ancient University of William and Mary at Williamsburg without observing the reverence and affection with which the gentlemen there speak of his friendship to their college. In the Civil War the Peninsula of Vir-

ginia, as John Smith calls it, was almost of course the scene of the most critical military operation. Rightly or wrongly, I do not pretend to know, the army of the North destroyed the principal building of the University. It was natural that after the return of peace, the friends of William and Mary College should think that they had a rightful claim on the government different from that of most of the sufferers by the rough hand of war. Who should present that claim before the country? The Philistines of whatever type would not have thought that this young anti-slavery member from Massachusetts, whose public life had begun and continued because he hated the institution of slavery, whose own father and sister had been turned out of Charleston by the authorities by a genteel mob in that city, that he should have been the person to be the champion of William and Mary College, and should compel, so to speak, the government to restore to it the property which it had destroyed. But Mr. Hoar undertook that special service in face of the difficulties which seemed insoluble. Separate claims for separate losses in a struggle for four years were looked upon rightly with dissatisfaction, not to say intolerance. All the same he meant that this claim should be listened to and if I may use our vernacular, he "put it through." It was because it was just,— it must be acceded to.

When in this city, we heard the distinguished senator from Virginia, Mr. Daniel, pronounce his admirable eulogy upon his long-time comrade in the Senate, we had a good opportunity to see how great is the worth of manhood in public life. A great leader of men said to me in 1904 in the Senate Chamber, that I should find very little politics in the Senate. He meant that man with man, the Senators of the country are linked together by ties much closer and more dear than those which are made by the mere mechanics of superficial politics.

When Mr. Hoar graduated at Cambridge his Commencement part was a review of Daniel Boone's life. The subject

itself showed the direction which his thought and study had already given to his life. And as one reviews the extraordinary range of his public writings, accurate as they are and profound at once, one understands the interest which the whole country took in him. Our associate, Mr. Paine, has made a collection of nearly five thousand memorial publications which have expressed the sorrow of a nation for his death and its gratitude for his life. I am not sure, but I believe, that if we had asked him which enterprise of his long life gave him the most pleasure in recollection,—I do not mean for its intrinsic importance, but for the dramatic associations of the whole event,—he would have said it was the recovery of Bradford's manuscript by the state of Massachusetts from its hiding place in London. When he was talking with the Bishop of London about this precious document, the Bishop said that he had never understood what was the value which belonged to it.

“Why,” said Mr. Hoar, “if there were in existence in England a history of King Alfred's reign for thirty years, written by his own hand, it would not be more precious in the eyes of Englishmen than this manuscript is to us.”

After this appeal, which quite surprised Dr. Temple, the endless difficulties of English law and custom were all overcome successively; and on an august occasion, the 26th of May, 1897, the General Court of Massachusetts received the precious volume at the hands of Mr. Bayard, the first American Ambassador in London, on his return from his duty there. Governor Walcott received the book to become henceforth the property of the Commonwealth, and Mr. Hoar made one of his most interesting addresses as he followed along its history. The Commonwealth thus owes to him this most precious memorial of its birth, and, as I say, I think he would have said, that no act of his had given him more pleasure than the effort which was crowned that day. Indeed, the history and principles of the founders of

New England and of their successors were woven in with all his life, nor have we ever had a scholar who devoted to them such unremitting interest or who had more reason to be proud of his personal connection with the fathers.

In reviewing Mr. Hoar's life, as a friend of education, of literature, and of history, or in general of scholarship, it is interesting to remember that the first President of Harvard College, whom the college herself had educated, was his ancestor, Leonard Hoar. He had had the advantage of both English and American training, and was loved and honored in the old country which still seemed home to half the colonists. The general Court, in their grant to the College, was accustomed every year to make the grant on condition that Dr. Hoar be the man chosen for the vacant President's place. "A scholar and a Christian, a man of talent and of great moral worth."

I have been told that in his physical aspect Senator Hoar reminded men of the pictures and busts of his distinguished grandfather, Roger Sherman. He had respect, amounting to veneration as well as love, for Sherman, and in one very instructive paper he showed with great pride from the journals of the Constitutional Convention what was the masterly honor of Sherman in leading the way in each of its most critical decisions.

The Senator was by no means a Dry-as-Dust annalist. He comprehended thoroughly the principles and determinations of the fathers; and in all his study and all his work, he showed his determination that those principles should be carried out without fear or hesitation. He studied the history of the past with no idolatry of ancient method or monument, but always looked forward to the future with a determination that the eternal principles of the reign of God should be central in the government of the years which are before us.

I am fortunate in being able to read to you a sonnet which his friend, Dr. Rawnsley, sent me after he received,

in his happy home at Keswick, the tidings of Mr. Hoar's death. I remember that the Senator when he introduced me to Dr. Rawnsley called him the first living poet in England.

At this October meeting of ours in Worcester, for a generation at least, the members of the society will remember the cordial welcome which the Council and every member always received at his happy home. One recalls with gratitude that great principle of history which in early life he announced so well himself. "At bottom the reason men form governments, and the object for which government is to be sustained is that men may live in happy homes." Whoever speaks or writes of the charm, itself indescribable, in this well-balanced life, remembers the cordial and complete sympathy of his wife, and that affectionate, and even ingenious coöperation of her life with his which showed itself whether in the detail of daily ministry or in constant inspiration;—sympathy and coöperation such as women only are able to conceive.

SENATOR HOAR

IN MEMORIAM

You of the spirit fresh with May-flower dew,
A Pilgrim Father faithful to the end,
Stout-hearted foe and truest-hearted friend,
Who never trimmed your sail to winds that blew
With breath of popular favour, but foreknew
 Storm followed sun, and knowing, did depend
 On One behind all storm high aid to lend,
And from Heaven's fount alone your wisdom drew:
Farewell! in these illiterate later days
 We ill can spare the good gray head that wore
 The honour of a nation, Fare thee well.
When Justice weary of men's warlike ways
 And Freedom gains Love's height, they there shall spell
 Your name in golden letters, Senator Hoar.

H. D. RAWNSLEY.

SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES OF GEORGE F. HOAR.

VOLUME I.

1. Legislative Power Under the Constitution. Report of the Special Committee, March, 1857.
2. Petition to annex part of the Towns of Bolton and Berlin to Hudson. Argument for Remonstrants, 1867.
3. Free Public Library, Worcester. Seventh and Eighth Annual Reports.
4. Claims of the Free Institute of Industrial Science upon the Commonwealth. Argument before Committee on Education of the Legislature of Mass., February, 1869.
5. Woman's Right and the Public Welfare. Remarks before a Special Committee of the Legislature, 1869.
6. Virginia, admission of. Speech in the H. of R., June, 1870.
7. National Economy. Speech in H. of R., February, 1870.
8. Mission to Rome. Remarks in H. of R., May, 1870.
9. Universal Education a National Concern and a National Necessity. Speech in H. of R., June, 1870.
10. General Howard, Charges against. Report of the Committee on Education and Labor, H. of R., July, 1870.
11. National Education. Speech in H. of R., February, 1871.
12. General Howard and the Freedmen's Bureau. Remarks in H. of R., February, 1871.
13. Powers of the American Constitution for the Protection of Civil Liberty. Speech in H. of R., March, 1871.
14. Universal Education the only Safeguard of State Rights. Speech in H. of R., January, 1872.
15. John Cessna vs. Benj. F. Meyers. Report of Committee on Elections, H. of R., February, 1872.
16. College of William and Mary. Speech in H. of R., February, 1872.
17. Grant and Wilson Club, Organization of. Address in Worcester, August, 1872.
18. Bowen vs. De Large. Report of Committee on Elections, H. of R., January, 1873.
19. Woman Suffrage Essential to the True Republic. Address at Boston, May, 1873.
20. Union Pacific Railroad Company, Affairs of. Report of Select Committee, H. of R., February, 1873.
21. Interstate Commerce. Speech in H. of R., March, 1874.
22. College of William and Mary. Report of Committee on Education and Labor, H. of R., March, 1876.
23. Jurisdiction in Impeachment. Argument before U. S. Senate, May, 1876.
24. Political Condition of the South. Speech in H. of R., August, 1876.

25. Presentation of the Statues of John Winthrop and Samuel Adams. Speech in H of R, December, 1876.
26. Counting the Electoral Votes. Speech in H of R, January, 1877.

VOLUME II.

1. Charles Sumner. Article in North American Review, Jan.-Feb., 1878.
2. Conduct of Business in Congress. Article in North American Review, February, 1879.
3. Condition of the South. Report of the Special Committee in H of R.
4. State Republican Convention, Mr. Hoar, President. Speech, September, 1877.
5. Republican State Convention, Worcester, 1879. Speech
6. Suffrage under National Protection. Speech in Senate, February, 1879.
7. Threatened Usurpation. Speech in Senate, March 25, 1879.
8. Geneva Award. Speech in Senate, March, 1880.
9. Senate Bound by its own Judgments. Speech in Senate, May, 1880.
10. The Place of the College Graduate in American Life. Address before the Social Union at Amherst College, July, 1879.
11. Constitutional Amendment, Female Suffrage. Report of Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, February, 1879.
12. Asbury Dickins, Report from Committee on Claims, November, 1877.
13. Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Republican Party. September, 1879.

VOLUME III.

1. Samuel Hoar, Memoir of.
2. James A. Garfield. Eulogy by G. F. H.
3. President Garfield's New England Ancestry.
4. James A. Garfield Memorial Observances.
5. The Appointing Power. Article in North American Review.
6. The Function of the American Lawyer in the Founding of States. An Address before the Graduating Class of Yale College, 1881.
7. The Lincoln Library, Dedication of. 1884
8. Our Candidates and Cause. Remarks in Tremont Temple, July 15, 1884.

VOLUME IV.

1. Geneva Award. Speeches April and March 1880.
2. A National Bankrupt Law. Speeches in June and December, 1882.
3. Alexander H. Bullock, Memoir of.
4. Relation of National Government to Domestic Commerce.
5. Alleged Election Outrages in Miss. Report of Committee on Privileges and Elections, May, 1884.
38. Benjamin Franklin, Purchase of Papers of. May, 1882, Committee on Library.
59. River and Harbor Bill, Analysis of. August 12, 1882.
60. Chinese Immigration. Speech, March, 1882, in the U. S. Senate.

VOLUME V.

1. Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Naming of Worcester. October, 1884.
2. Obligations of New England to the County of Kent. Paper read before the Antiquarian Society, 1885.
3. Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Concord. September 12, 1885.
4. Samuel Head vs. Amoskeag Mfg. Co. and Argument in same. Briefs for Defendant, October, 1884.
5. Relation of National Government to Domestic Commerce. Speech in the Senate, July 1, 1884.
6. Annual or Biennial Elections, Which? Speech at Massachusetts Club, 1886.
7. Prof. Wiley Lane, Obituary Addresses at Funeral of. March 3, 1885.
8. The Senate and the President. Speech in the Senate, June 30, 1886.
9. Interstate Commerce. Speech in the Senate, January 14, 1887. Atlantic and Pacific Ship-Railway. Speech in the Senate, February, 1887.

VOLUME VII.

1. John G. Whittier. Remarks before Essex Club, November 12, 1887.
2. Gov. Washburn. Address, November 1887.
3. The Founding of the Northwest. Oration at Marietta, O., April, 1888.
4. Fisheries Treaty. Speech in Senate, July, 1888.
5. Garrison's Welcome to Harvard. Speech in Tremont Temple, November 2, 1888.
6. Report of the Proceedings of the Harvard Republican Meeting, Tremont Temple, November 2, 1888.
7. The Constitutional Remedy. Speech, 1888.
8. Jubilee Banquet of Home Market Club. Speech, November 15, 1888.
9. Completion of the National Monument to the Pilgrims. Speech at Plymouth, August 1, 1889.
10. Are the Republicans in to Stay? Article in North American Review of 1889.
11. Speech at Ratification Meeting, Music Hall, October 15, 1889.

VOLUME VIII.

1. Shall the Senate Keep Faith with the People? Speech, August 1890.
2. Senate Resolution Relating to a Limitation of Debate. August, 1890.
3. Amendment to the Resolution of Mr. Quay. August 19, 1890.
5. Montana Election Cases. Report of Facts and Speeches on same, 1890.
6. Order Reported from Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections to Omit from the Congressional Record certain words in the Report of Senator Call's Remarks, February 20, 1890

VOLUME IX.

2. Charles Devens, Henry M. Dexter and Edward I. Thomas. Before Antiquarian Society, April 29, 1891.
3. Government in Canada and the United States Compared. Antiquarian Society, April 29, 1891.
4. Home Market Club Meeting, November, 1891. Speech of Mr. Hoar.
5. Railroad Problems. New York Independent, 1891.
6. Speech at Cambridge, October 7, 1891.
7. Speech at Great Barrington, October, 1891.
8. The Fate of the Election Bill. Magazine Article.....
9. Reasons for Republican Control. Magazine Article.....
10. If Crime Rule our Elections, the Republic Cannot Live. Speech, December, 1890.
11. Constitutional Limit of the Taxing Power. Speech, January, 1893.
12. Election of Senators by Direct Vote of the People. Speech, 1893.
21. Speech at Vice-President Morton's Testimonial, 1891. Old Age and Immortality.
22. One Hundredth Anniversary of the Worcester Fire Society, January 4, 1892.

VOLUME X.

1. Charles Sumner. Magazine Article.
2. The Right and Expediency of Woman Suffrage. Article in Century Magazine.
2. Address of Mr. Hoar, President, etc., Fifteenth Meeting of the National Conference of Unitarian and other Churches. Saratoga, September, 1894.
3. Platform Adopted by the Republican State Convention of Massachusetts, 1894.
4. Daniel Webster. Speech in the Senate on the Receiving of the Statues of Webster and Stark, December, 1894.
5. Gold and Silver. Speech, August, 1893.
6. Sectional Attack on Northern Industries. Speech, May, 8 1894.
7. A New England Town. Speech, June, 1894.
8. Executive Usurpation. Speech, December 6 and 11, 1893.
9. Colloquy with Mr. Villas. Speech in Senate, December 6, 1893.
10. Executive Usurpation. Speech, December 20, 1893.
11. Dinner Commemorative of Charles Sumner and Complimentary to Edward L. Pierce, December 29, 1894.
12. Address to Law Class, Howard University, 1894.
13. Speech at the Dedication of the Haston Free Public Library, No. Brookfield, September 20, 1894.

VOLUME XI.

1. Address at the Opening Exercises of Clark University, October 2, 1889.
2. The Further Mission of the Party. Article in the Republican Party.
3. Oration at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, April 19, 1895.
4. Improvement of Boston Harbor. Address at Fifteenth Annual Banquet of Boston Merchants' Association, November 15, 1895.

- 5. Popular Discontent with Representative Government. Inaugural Address before the American Historical Association, December 27, 1895.
- 6. Oration at the Two Hundred and Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims, December 21, 1895.
- 7. Protection to Wool, Bi-metallism and the Republican Party. Speech in the Senate, February 26, 1896.
- 8. Orderly and Decorous Conduct of Foreign Relations. Speech, March 11, 1896.
- 9. The Senate. An Article published in the *Youth's Companion*, November, 1890, and reprinted by the Senate.

VOLUME XII.

1. The Charge of Packing the Court, etc., Refuted. Letter to *Boston Herald*, November, 1896.
2. The Life of Roger Sherman, Book-notices of.
3. McKay v. Kean. Argument for Petitioner, October, 1895.
4. Has the Senate Degenerated? Article in the *Forum*, April, 1897.
5. Statesmanship in England and in the United States. The *Forum*, August, 1897.
6. General William Cogswell, Life and Character of. Senate, February 8, 1897.
7. Oregon Case. Report of Committee on Privileges and Elections, June 25, 1897.

VOLUME XIII.

1. William Whitney Rice. A Biographical Sketch.
2. Francis Amasa Walker, Proceedings of a Meeting held in Commemoration of.
3. American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings of the. October 21, 1897.
4. Bradford Manuscript, Return of the.
5. Ashley B. Wright. Memorial Addresses in the Senate by Messrs. Hoar, Morgan, Hawley and Lodge.
7. Sound Money for the People, The United States a Government Providing, January 26, 1898.
8. War—Justice and Humanity, Not Revenge, The Only Justification for. In the Senate, April 14, 1898.
9. Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, April 27, 1898.

VOLUME XIV.

1. Hawaii. In the Senate, July 5, 1898.
2. Dangers of Colonial Expansion. In *New York Independent*, July 7, 1898.
3. Relation of the American Bar to the State. Address Delivered at the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Virginia State Bar Association, July, 1898.
4. Same, in *Virginia Law Register*, August, 1898.
5. Quality of our Honor. Speech at Opening of Clark University Summer School, July 13, 1898, and Open Letters to Prof. Norton.
6. Rufus Putnam, Founder and Father of Ohio. Address at Rutland, September 17, 1898.

7. Bradford Manuscript, Account of Part Taken by American Antiquarian Society in Return of, to America.

VOLUME XV.

1. Four National Conventions—Some Political Reminiscences—Daniel Webster. *Scribner's Magazine*.
3. Life of Sumner by Edward L. Pierce—Wilmot Proviso—John Davis. Remarks before American Antiquarian Society in Proceedings, October, 1893.
6. Latin and Greek in our Colleges. *New York Independent*, March 16, 1899.
7. Speech at Banquet of the New England Society of Charleston, S. C., December 22, 1898.
8. Kettle Brook Water Cases. Argument in, January 2, 1899.
9. Philippine Islands. No Constitutional Power to Conquer Foreign Nations, etc., In Senate, January 9, 1899.
10. Philippine Islands, Letter from Hon. George F. Hoar regarding, to Hon. George S. Boutwell and others, March 29, 1899.
11. Justin Morrill, Memorial Address in the Senate.
12. Isham G. Harris. Memorial Address in the Senate.
13. Our Duty to the Philippines. *New York Independent*, November 9, 1899.

VOLUME XVI.

1. The Philippines. Speech in reply to Senator Beveridge in the Senate, Jan. 9, 1900.
2. Our Duty to the Philippines. Letter by Senator Hoar, January 11, 1900.
3. Shall we Retain the Philippines. In *Collier's Weekly*, February 3, 1900.
4. The Philippines. Speech in the Senate, April 17, 1900.
5. The Conquest of the Philippines. Extracts from Speech of April 17, 1900.
6. The Lust of Empire. Speech April 17, 1900. Published by Tucker Publishing Co.
8. Vacancies in the Senate. Right of Executive to Appoint in all Cases during Recess of Legislature. In the Senate, March 2, 1900.
9. Harvard College Fifty-eight Years Ago. In *Scribner's Magazine*, July, 1900.
10. Alumni Dinner, Speech at. *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, September, 1900.
11. Party Government in the United States. *International Monthly*, October, 1900.
13. President McKinley or President Bryan. *North American Review*, October, 1900.
- Bradford Manuscript. Speech, 1897.
- Cushman K. Davis. Address in Senate, 1897.
- Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment, Excursion of the—and its Friends to the Battlefields of Gettysburg, Antietam, Ball's Bluff and the City of Washington, D. C., Sept. 14-20, 1900. Addressees by Hon. George F. Hoar at Gettysburg and Antietam.
- Harvard Alumni Dinner. Hon. George F. Hoar, '46, President of the Association of the Alumni. Also Address at the opening of the Harvard Union, 1901.

Thomas H. Benton and Francis P. Blair, Proceedings in Congress upon the acceptance of the statues of. Address, 1900.

John Sherman. Article in *New York Independent*, November 1, 1900.

Centennial Celebration of the Establishment of the Seat of Government at the City of Washington. Closing Address by Hon. George F. Hoar, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, December 12, 1900.

Address delivered before the Senate and House of Representatives and invited guests on February 21, 1901, in response to an invitation of the General Court.

Robert Burns. An address delivered in Tremont Temple by Hon. George F. Hoar on March 28, 1901, before the Burns Memorial Association of Boston. Also reprinted in Scotland.

Oratory. Article in *Scribner's Magazine*, June, 1901.

Some Famous Orators I have Heard. Article in *Scribner's Magazine*, July, 1901.

First Parish in Concord, Dedication of the Restored Meeting House of the. Address, Thursday, October 3d, 1901.

Webster Centennial of Dartmouth College, The Proceedings of the Speech, 1901.

Charles Allen. Address delivered before the Annual Meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, October 30, 1901.

Jonas G. Clark, Founder of Clark University, Some Considerations Relating to the Will of. Hon. George F. Hoar, February 14, 1902.

Bi-Centennial of the First Parish in Framingham, Services at the. Address, October 13, 1901.

Election of Senators by Direct Vote of the People. Speech, Tuesday, March 11, 1902.

An Attempt to Subjugate a People Striving for Freedom, Not the American Soldier, Responsible for Cruelties in the Philippine Islands. Speech in the Senate, May 22, 1902.

The Connecticut Compromise. Address before the American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1902.

Banquet of the New England Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Speech, December 22, 1902.

A Regulation of Trusts and Corporations Engaged in Interstate Commerce. Speech in the Senate, January 16, 1903.

Birthday of Washington, Exercises in Commemoration of the. Address at the Union League Club, Chicago, February 23, 1903. Also speech at the post-prandial exercises in the evening.

Inauguration of President Carroll D. Wright, Clark University, Worcester, Mass. Address, October 9, 1902.

Emerson Centenary. Address at the Memorial Exercises in the Meeting House of the First Parish in Concord, Mass., on Monday afternoon, May the 25th, 1903.

Answer to Carl Schurz's Brooklyn Address of August 5, 1884.

Jeremiah Evarts Greene. Address before American Antiquarian Society, February, 1903.

First Parish in Concord, Dedication of the Restored Meeting House of the. Thursday, October 3, 1901. Address.

Brig.-General Rufus Putnam. Article in *Wisdom*, October, 1902.

Peabody Education Fund. Proceedings of the Trustees at their Forty-first Meeting in New York, October 1, 1902. Report of Hon. George F. Hoar for the Committee on the legal aspect of the Nashville Property.

Horace Gray, Memoir. Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Second Series, Volume XVIII, pages 155-187.

Panama Canal. Speech in the United States Senate, Monday, February 22, 1904.

The First Schoolhouse in Worcester and John Adams, Schoolmaster. Address at the unveiling of the tablet upon the site of the schoolhouse, May 23, 1903.

John Bellows. Memorial Sketch in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, October 21, 1903.

Thomas Jefferson. Address delivered at the Banquet of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, Hotel Barton, Washington, D. C., April 13, 1903.

American Citizenship. Address delivered at the Forty-third Annual Commencement of the State University of Iowa, June 17, 1903.

Horace Gray, In Memoriam. Saturday, December 13, 1902.

Character of Washington. His last public utterance, June 17, 1904.

Senator Hoar delivered an extended address upon Rufus Putnam at Sutton, Putnam's birthplace, in the early summer, in May or early June, repeating substantially his earlier Putnam address. A little later, before the Court, he delivered a eulogy upon his friend Col. E. B. Stoddard. Neither of these addresses were printed.

OBITUARIES.

Louis Adolphe Huguet-Latour died in Montreal, Canada, in May 1904, having been a member of this Society since 1861. He belonged to the family "De Vaslois de Valois Ville." His occupation was that of a Notary which in Canada is an important office. His interest in historical matters was shown in the publication of *Annals of the conspicuous events in the History of Canada*.

Some pamphlets from his pen with reference to the Catholic Church were published, and were so highly considered that the late Pope Pius X made him a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre.

No extended notice of him has come to my attention.

S. U.

James Henry Salisbury died at his summer home at Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., Aug 23, 1905.

He was born in Scott, Cortland Co., N. Y., Oct. 13, 1823; graduated at the Polytechnic Institute of Troy, N. Y., in 1846 and at the Albany Medical College in 1850. In addition to the degrees thus obtained he also received that of LL.D., from Union College and Amity College of Indiana. He became a member of many learned societies, including this Society, which he joined in 1862. Much of his work was in the line of microscopic investigation, the results of which were published in the transactions of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

The germ theory received his early attention, his discoveries therein being also published. He practised as a specialist in the causes and treatment of chronic diseases in Cleveland Ohio and in N. Y. City. He was the author of numerous books and pamphlets, including about seventy-five monographs, many of which related to his therapeutical discoveries.

A good notice of him and his work may be found in the *National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, Vol. 8, 469.

S. U.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his annual report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending October 10, 1905.

The legacy from the late Andrew H. Green of New York, of \$5,000, amounting, less the inheritance tax, to \$4,839.45 has been received since the April meeting of the Society.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 10, 1905, was \$156,972.63. It is divided among the several funds as follows:

The Librarian's and General Fund,	\$37,272.89
The Collection and Research Fund,	16,719.84
The Bookbinding Fund,	7,710.77
The Publishing Fund,	81,811.40
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund, ..	14,048.26
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,	6,645.60
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,	1,130.98
The Salisbury Building Fund,	5,370.55
The Alden Fund,	1,000.00
The Tenney Fund,	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,	1,615.40
The George Chandler Fund,	456.44
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,	4,538.97
The George E. Ellis Fund,	16,437.99
The John and Eliza Davis Fund,	8,681.62
The Life Membership Fund,	2,400.00
	<hr/>
	\$155,789.71
Income Account,	912.88
Premium Account,	270.50
	<hr/>
	\$156,972.63

The cash on hand, included in the following statement is \$7,196.35.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the year is as follows:

DR.

1904. Oct. 7. Balance of cash as per last report,	\$ 891.59
1905. " 10. Income from investments to date,	8,859.29
" " For life membership,.....	50.00
" " For annual assessments,.....	170.50
" " Sale of publications,	210.00
" " Premium on securities sold,.....	518.83
" " Notes and securities paid or sold,	8,743.75
From the Est. of Andrew H. Green,	4,839.45
Sundry Items,.....	217.41
	<hr/>
	\$24,500.83

CR.

By salaries to October 10, 1905,	\$4,108.58
Publication of Proceedings, <i>etc.</i> ,	882.93
Books purchased,.....	532.56
For binding,.....	59.70
For heating, lighting and telephone,.....	85.79
Invested in stocks and bonds,	9,829.76
Premium on stocks and bonds,.....	116.44
Insurance,.....	275.20
Repairs on Buildings,	171.66
For coal,	290.23
Incidental Expenses,.....	956.12
	<hr/>
	\$17,303.97
Balance of cash October 11, 1905,.....	7,196.85
	<hr/>
	\$24,500.83

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.*The Librarian's and General Fund.*

Balance of Fund, October 7, 1904,.....	\$34,586.48
Income to October 6, 1904,	1,729.82
Transferred from Tenney Fund,.....	250.00
" " Alden Fund,.....	50.00
From Life Membership Fund,	117.50
From Salisbury Fund,.....	216.14
From Estate of Andrew H. Green,.....	4,839.45
From Other Sources,.....	60.00
	<hr/>
	\$41,848.89
Paid for salaries and incidental expenses,....	4,576.50
	<hr/>
Balance October 10, 1905,	\$37,272.89

Brought forward, \$37,272.89

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 7, 1904,	\$17,029.98
Income to October 6, 1904,	851.49
	<hr/>
	\$17,881.42
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals,	1,162.06
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Balance October 10, 1905,	\$16,719.84

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 7, 1904,	\$7,432.20
Income to October 10, 1905,	371.60
	<hr/>
	\$7,803.80
Paid for binding, etc,	98.08
	<hr/>
Balance October 10, 1905,	\$7,710.77

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 7, 1904,	\$31,061.75
Income to October 10, 1905,	1,553.08
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	\$32,614.83
Paid on account of publications,	808.43
	<hr/>
Balance October 10, 1905,	\$31,811.40

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 7, 1904,	\$13,400.68
Income to October 10, 1905,	670.00
	<hr/>
	\$14,070.68
Paid for books purchased,	22.42
	<hr/>
Balance October 10, 1905,	\$14,048.26

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 7, 1904,	\$6,829.15
Income to October 10, 1905,	316.45
	<hr/>
Balance October 10, 1905,	\$6,645.60
<i>Carried forward,</i>	<hr/>
	\$114,207.76

	<i>Brought forward,</i>	\$114,207.76
	<i>The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.</i>	
Balance October 7, 1904.....	..... \$1,157.00	
Income to October 10, 1905.....	..... 57.85	
	_____
	..... \$1,214.85	
Paid for local histories.....	..... 88.87	_____
Balance October 10, 1905.....		\$1,120.98

	<i>The Salisbury Building Fund.</i>	
Balance October 7, 1904.....	..... \$5,480.35	
Income to October 10, 1905.....	..... 278.00	
	_____
	..... \$5,758.35	
Paid for repairs, etc.....	..... 887.80	_____
Balance October 10, 1905.....		\$5,370.55

	<i>The Alden Fund.</i>	
Balance October 7, 1904.....	..... \$1,000.00	
Income to October 10, 1905.....	..... 50.00	
	_____
	..... \$1,050.00	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	..... 50.00	_____
Balance October 10, 1905.....		\$1,000.00

	<i>The Tenney Fund.</i>	
Balance October 7, 1904.....	..... \$5,000.00	
Income to October 10, 1905.....	..... 250.00	
	_____
	..... \$5,250.00	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	..... 250.00	_____
Balance October 10, 1905.....		\$5,000.00

	<i>The Haven Fund.</i>	
Balance October 7, 1904.....	..... \$1,564.50	
Income to October 10, 1905.....	..... 78.22	
	_____
	..... \$1,642.72	
Paid for books.....	..... 27.32	_____
Balance October 10, 1905.....		\$1,615.40
Carried forward.....		_____
		\$128,824.69

Brought forward..... \$128,824.69

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 7, 1904.....	\$476.76
Income to October 10, 1905.....	23.83
	<hr/>
	\$500.59
Paid for books.....	44.15
Balance October 10, 1905.....	\$456.44

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance October 7, 1904,.....	\$4,346.98
Income to October 10, 1905,	217.34
	<hr/>
	\$4,564.32
Paid for books,.....	25.35
Balance October 10, 1905,	<hr/> \$4,538.97

The George E. Ellis Fund.

Balance October 7, 1904,.....	\$15,910.26
Income to October 10, 1905,	795.50
	<hr/>
	\$16,705.76
Paid for books,	267.77
Balance October 10, 1905,	<hr/> \$16,437.99

The John and Eliza Davis Fund

Amount of Fund, October 7, 1904,.....	\$3,476.43
Income to October 10, 1905,	173.82
	<hr/>
	\$3,650.25
Paid for books,	18.63
Balance October 10, 1905,	<hr/> \$3,631.62

The Life Membership Fund.

Balance October 7, 1904,.....	\$2,850.00
Income to October 10, 1905,	117.50
Life Membership,	50.00
	<hr/>
	\$2,517.50
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	117.50
	<hr/>
Balance October 10, 1905,	\$2,400.00
	<hr/>
Total of the sixteen funds,.....	\$155,789.71
Balance to the credit of Income Account, ...	912.33
" " " " Premium Account,..	270.59
	<hr/>
October 10, 1905, total,	\$156,972.63

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

STOCKS.	Amount Invested.	Par Value.	Market Value.
Fitchburg National Bank,.....	\$600.00	\$600.00	\$900.00
Nat. Bank of Commerce, Boston, .	3,200.00	3,200.00	4,672.00
Old Boston National Bank,.....	300.00	300.00	312.00
Quinsigamond Nat Bank, Wore.,.	1,200.00	1,200.00	1,800.00
Webs. & Atlas Nat. Bank, Boston,	1,800.00	1,800.00	2,192.00
Worcester National Bank,.....	1,600.00	1,600.00	3,200.00
Worcester Trust Co.,.....	675.00	300.00	675.00
Fitchburg R. R. Co., Stock,.....	5,000.00	5,000.00	6,750.00
Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co., Stock,	3,000.00	3,000.00	4,900.00
Worcester Gas Light Co.,	" 900.00	800.00	2,250.00
West End St. Ry. Co. (Pfd.)	" 1,250.00	1,250.00	2,200.00
N. Y., N. Haven & Hart. R. R., "	9,367.61	5,500.00	11,270.00
Worc. Ry. & Investment Co., "	10,000.00	10,000.00	8,400.00
Boston Tow Boat Co.,.....	" 1,000.00	1,000.00	950.00
Boston & Phila. Steamship Co.,"	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00
Atchison,Top. & Santa Fé R.R.,"	700.00	1,100.00	1,144.00
Mass. Gas Light Co., Pfd.....	" 2,900.00	3,500.00	2,600.00
Am. Telephone & Telegraph Co.,"	3,100.00	2,000.00	2,500.00
Old South Building Trust,...."	1,000.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
	\$49,592.61	\$45,150.00	\$59,715.00

BONDS.

Atchison, Tope. & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,			
Gen. Mortgage, 4 per cent.....	\$1,540.00	\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00
Adjustable, 4 per cent,	885.00	1,000.00	1,000.00
Kan. City, Ft. Sc. & Gulf R. R.,	8,300.00	3,300.00	3,597.00
Chicago & East. Ill. R. R. 5 per cent.,	10,000.00	10,000.00	11,400.00
City of Quincy Water Bonds,	4,000.00	4,000.00	4,040.00
Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago,	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
Low., Law. & Hav. St. Ry. Co., 5 per ct.	8,620.00	9,000.00	9,118.00
Worc. & Marl. St. Ry. Co., 5 per cent.	8,000.00	3,000.00	3,000.00
Wilkes Barre & East.R.R.Co.,5 per ct.	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,130.00
Ellicott Square Co., Buffalo, 5 per ct.	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,250.00
Worc. & Web. St. Ry. Co., 5 per cent.	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,100.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co., 4 per cent.	7,000.00	7,000.00	6,600.00
Crompton & Knowles Loom Works,.	4,000.00	4,000.00	4,200.00
Union Pacific R. R. Co., 4 per cent..	6,000.00	6,000.00	6,000.00
Chicago, Cincinnati & Louisville			
R. R., 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per ct.....	3,000.00	3,000.00	2,955.00
<i>Carried forward,.....</i>	<i>\$114,937.61</i>	<i>\$111,450.00</i>	<i>\$127,970.00</i>

<i>Brought forward,</i>	\$114,937.61	\$111,450.00	\$126,105.00
Hoosier Equipment Co., 5 per cent.,	4,000.00	4,000.00	4,000.00
Pére Marquette R. R. Co.,	5,000.00	5,000.00	5,000.00
Southern Indiana R. R. Co.,	2,000.00	2,000.00	1,845.00
Lake Shore, Michigan South. R.R.Co.	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00
Illinois Central R. R. Co.,	2,000.00	2,000.00	2,000.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$129,937.61	\$126,450.00	\$140,950.00
Notes secured by mort. of real estate	19,800.00	19,800.00	19,800.00
Deposited in Worcester savings banks,	88.67	88.67	88.67
Cash in National Bank on interest,..	7,196.85	7,196.85	7,196.85
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$156,972.68	\$153,485.02	\$167,979.02

WORCESTER, MASS., October 5, 1905.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,

Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that they have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 10, 1905, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

A. G. BULLOCK.

B. T. HILL.

October 19, 1905.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

OUR mission as a learned Society possessed of a library rich in many departments, has been followed quietly but industriously during the past year. There has been an increase in the number of scholars engaged in important historical and antiquarian research as well as of those whose genealogical and biographical studies have been pursued primarily with a view to admission into the various patriotic societies of the day. Our attic hall, and newspaper room have received partial relief by the disposal of a large mass of duplicate unbound newspapers. This clearance was not made until they had been freely offered to other institutions. There has been but one change in the working force of the library.*

By direction of the President, a liberal contribution of our duplicate American literature has been made to the Municipal Library of Frankfort-on-the-Main, "An institution which with more than 300,000 volumes ranks among the most important libraries of Germany." His Honor, the Mayor of that city, Dr. Adickes, in his official application writes: "This American Section will be especially devoted to the philosophical, historical, judicial, political, industrial, commercial and sociological literature of the United States. Such an American Section of the Municipal Library of Frankfort would be extensively used by the widest circles, as this library is open to everyone free of charge, and its large reading room is always available to the public." This National Society has acted favorably upon many like appeals.

* Upon the death of Mr. Alexander S. Harris, our faithful janitor since December 4, 1899, he was succeeded by Mr. James E. Fenner on May 8, 1905.

The book-plate for our Civil War literature of 1861-1865, suggested in my last report, has been secured. It is happy in design and execution. The outer frame work holds an inner frame of lighter construction which contains the following: John and Eliza Davis Fund Founded 1900. Beneath this inscription are the portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Davis, and in the panel below, the seal of the Society, to which has been added 1812 the date of the incorporation. The engraved plate authorized by the Council for general library use, is a model of good taste and excellent workmanship. Within the upper half of a Gothic frame, appear the portraits of "Isaiah Thomas, President 1812-1831" and "Stephen Salisbury, President 1854-1884" surmounted by the seal of the Society. Below are shelved folio and octavo books, with opened specimens of early imprints and manuscripts. At the base of the arch is "Ex Libris American Antiquarian Society—Founded 1812."

A visitors' book has been opened with a view of securing information for our own use, and for the use of others when deemed expedient. It contains the date, name, residence and remarks, and is intended for discriminating use by those members and others whose researches are being pursued from time to time in our treasure-house.

Our copy of "The Story without an end, translated from the German of Carové by S. Austin, with Preface and Key by A. B. Alcott": 18^o, pp. 123, Boston 1836, contains the suggestive entry by my honored predecessor:—"Samuel Foster Haven 1837. The first book he learned to read through, himself." The reference is to his only child and namesake whose painstaking work on our "Ante Revolutionary List of Publications in the United States" is gratefully recalled. In the preface to the second edition of our founder's History of Printing, Dr. Haven pays a just tribute to his son which should appear as a preface to the separately printed copies of the pre-revolutionary list. Thus their memorial character would be preserved and the father's desire carried

out. The signatures 1-45 sent by our distinguished librarian to such friends as John R. Bartlett, George Brinley, James Lenox and J. Hammond Trumbull were forwarded with promise of title page and preface. Dr. Trumbull's interleaved copy with many additions, corrections and notes has answered the questions of many scholars since its arrival here in 1898.

Of Harvard College theses before the Revolution we have—and greatly desire any others to add to this remarkable file:—1720, 1722, 1723, 1725-1727, 1730-1732, 1737-1751 1753-1756, 1758-1763, 1765-1773. *The Essex Antiquarian* lacks volume I, numbers 1 and 2; and *The Spirit of 76*, volume I, numbers 4, 7, 8, 10 and 12; volume II, number 3; volume III, numbers 3, and 5-12; volume IV, numbers 2-7 and 12. Our file of the annals of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company lacks 1660, (1672 is imperfect), 1676, 1691, 1695, 1698, 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1704, 1705, 1708, 1720, 1765, (1767 is imperfect), 1788, 1791, 1795 and 1851. Thus twenty sermons appear to be wanted, two of which are needed to replace imperfect ones. I append a bibliographical note—not in Sabin—relative to the sermon of 1675. It was preached by Rev. Samuel Phillips of Rowley but not printed. In the year 1839 the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company reprinted as one of their series, an artillery sermon preached in 1675 by Rev. John Richardson of Newbury. A line title thereof follows:—

The | Necessity | of a | well Experienced Souldiery. | Or | A Christian Commonwealth ought to be well | Instructed and Experienced in the | Military Art. | Delivered in a Sermon, upon an | Artillery Election, | June the 10th, 1675. | By J. Richardson of Newbury. | Psal. 144:1. Jer. 43 | Boston: Reprinted by Company vote, 1839, | By J. Howe, No. 39, Merchants Row. On the reverse of the title page is printed the following paragraph:

“The original printed Discourse from which this is a reprint, was found among the papers of the late Dr. Osgood,

of Medford, and was presented at their last anniversary, with others of more recent date, to the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company by his son, David Osgood, M. D., of Boston, to whom the Company present their respects and thanks." Puzzled by the state of the case, I wrote to Capt. Albert A. Folsom—perhaps the highest authority—to which he replied on November 8, 1882: "The Richardson sermon doesn't come in at all. Note on title page it was delivered June 10, 1675. The first Monday of June would hardly come on the 10th. Why the Company printed it in 1839, I can't imagine. Vote may have been taken at dinner time!"

I submit the following supplementary information:—

Philadelphia, Pa.,
April 22d, 1905.

Dear Mr. BARTON:—

I have received the Proceedings of the October meeting and am glad to find by your report (pp. 331-332), that you have acquired since I wrote my "Paul Revere's Portrait of Washington," a copy of Weatherwise's Almanac for 1781, with the "beautiful copperplate" frontispiece, although I regret that the last line is clipped from the "explanatory text" as with it Revere's name may have gone. I have, however, had my ascription of authorship confirmed by a grand-daughter of the engraver, which I am sure your Society will be glad to know, as the following letter shows:—

BOSTON, Jan. 16th, 1904.

Dear Sir:—

Please excuse my carelessness in not acknowledging your kindness in sending me the photograph of Paul Revere's Washington, for which I thank you. I have no question that it is his, as, when I was a child my father always carried one of the heads in his watch, which had a double case. Of course, I cannot be positive, but both my sisters and I remember his disappointment, sixty years ago, at losing it, when the watch was returned from being repaired without the engraving, which we had frequently opened the outer case of the watch to look at. The wreath surrounding the head was all cut off, to fit the inside of the cover.

Yours sincerely,

MARIA A. REVERE.

You are at perfect liberty to print this in your Proceedings as a supplement to what you say on the subject. I am,

Faithfully,

CHAS. HENRY HART.

The sources of gifts for the year ending October 15, number four hundred and eight, namely: from forty-eight members, one hundred and forty-three persons not members, and two hundred and seventeen societies and insti-

tutions. We have received from them thirty-four hundred and seventy-nine books; eleven thousand seven hundred and thirty-two pamphlets; seventeen bound and one hundred and fifteen volumes of unbound newspapers, two hundred and ten maps; one hundred and sixty-one portraits; eighty-six engravings; one framed and twenty-six unframed photographs; three proclamations; three manuscript volumes; two book-plates and a collection of articles for the Cabinet; by exchange, eighteen books and ninety-four pamphlets; and from the bindery twenty-six volumes of magazines;—a total of thirty-five hundred and twenty-three books, eleven thousand eight hundred and twenty-six pamphlets, seventeen bound and one hundred and fifteen volumes of unbound newspapers, *etc.*

The generous gift of our associate Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis was mentioned in the last report of the Council. It includes about three hundred and fifty copies each of his "Confiscation of John Chandler's Estate;" and "Tracts relating to the Currency of the Massachusetts Bay 1682-1720" which was carefully edited by him. The receipts from the sale of these remainders will be credited to the John and Eliza Davis fund.

With the usual gift from Hon. Edward L. Davis, we received the following suggestive letter from Hon. George Bancroft, written less than a year before his death at the ripe age of four score and ten:

1623 H Street, WASHINGTON D. C. 25 Feb., 1889.

E. L. DAVIS, Esq.,

My dear Mr. Davis:—

I am most sensibly grateful to you for the gift of an excellent photograph of the house in which I was born. My memory is fresh as to the house, the rooms within, the garden with its few but excellent peach trees, and my old age is gladdened by the care that friends in Worcester now keep up a faithful friendship for their forerunner who was born in the last century and is perhaps now the oldest of those who first opened their eyes to the light in the village now one of the largest of our cities.

Ever most truly and gratefully yours,

GEO. BANCROFT.

On August 11, 1886, President George F. Hoar deposited copies of letters from Attorney-General Levi Lincoln, Sr.,

to President Thomas Jefferson, and on the 19th of the same month directed the librarian to endorse thereon, "To be the property of the American Antiquarian Society unless recalled during the life-time of Mr. Hoar." These letters, which are numerous, cover the period from 1801 to 1809 inclusive. See also in the librarian's report of October, 1902, Mr. Hoar's letter of June 30, 1902 by which he presents his valuable Phillipine collection, retaining only a life interest therein.

Hon. Rockwood Hoar has presented a copy of his father's "Autobiography of Seventy Years," to which has been appended type-written *Errata* and in which the corrections have been made with the pen.

Two early account books received from Rev. Henry F. Jenks are supposed to have belonged to the Huntoon family of Canton, Massachusetts.

The gift of Dr. George L. Kittredge of his "The Old Farmer and his Almanack" contains a full length reproduction of our portrait of Robert B. Thomas which now presides over the lobby containing our almanacs, registers and year books.

Dr. Joseph F. Loubat has added three Central American codices to those already received from him.

None of the rarities offered by Prof. Thomas in the following letter had been collected by the Mathers or by our founder. They were gratefully accepted.

HAVERFORD, PA.,

May 1, 1905.

My dear Mr. Barton:—

A year or so ago I promised to send the Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society a collection of the works of Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist. It has so happened that owing to the fact of their being packed away I have only come across them in the last few days. I subjoin a list of books which I shall be glad to give the Society if they wish them. I hardly need say that some of them are scarce. I secured them when I was engaged in study on the Mystics. I also offer another folio which is interesting on account of the edition.

Very sincerely,

ALLEN C. THOMAS.

Works by Henry More, the Platonist.

Psychozoia, a poem, Cambridge, 1647—sm. 4to.
On the Immortality of the Soul, 12mo., London, 1659.
Mystery of Iniquity, fol. London, 1664.
Divine Dialogues, 12mo., London, 1668.
Tetractys Anti-Astrologica, 4to., London, 1681.
Theological Works, fol., London, 1708.
Philosophical Works, fol., London, 1712. 4th edition.
Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, fol. vellum, Argentorati (Strassburg) 1702.

Mr. Henry P. Upham has remembered the Society by sending it the seven volume edition of the Journal of the Lewis and Clark expedition, edited by our associate Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites.

Mrs. Warren F. Draper has contributed a mass of literature, chiefly educational; and the product of her late husband's press at Andover, Massachusetts.

A list of the articles bequeathed to the Society by the late Mr. Charles E. French of Boston will be found appended to this report. The letters which relate thereto bear dates 26 June and 12 July, 1905. The executors report that "A cash bequest will be attended to later."

A set of *The Harvard Graduates' Magazine* has been received from Dr. Warren R. Gilman who will continue to add the same to our rare collection of College literature.

The closing of the printing office of Charles Hamilton—our printer since 1869—has brought to us from the estate an accumulation of their imprints of many years. After adding much valuable historical material to our own shelves, we have acted as distributing agent of the remainder.

Mrs. Samuel Foster Haven as executrix of the estate of Dr. Haven has transferred to the Haven Alcove the two hundred volumes which constituted the remainder of his valuable library. She has not only waived a life interest therein but has also made a contribution of early American imprints from her own library.

Mrs. William W. Johnson's gift of bound volumes of Vermont, Massachusetts and New York newspapers has strengthened our files of the early nineteenth Century.

Mr. Franklin P. Rice, Editor, has provided us with a much needed extra set of his rare "Worcester Births, Marriages and Deaths;" and "Worcester Town Records, 1801-1848."

The mass of material sent to us by the widow of Mr. Caleb A. Wall, has filled many gaps in our departments of slavery, rebellion, local history, broadsides, *etc.* Mr. Wall's manuscripts and newspaper clippings, which relate chiefly to Worcester and Worcester County, were transferred, with the approval of the library committee to the Worcester Society of Antiquity. One of the minor, undated broadsides gives the following information:

EXCHANGE HOTEL,

HILLSBORO' STREET,

RALEIGH, N. C.

REGULATIONS.

GUESTS should register their names before being assigned to rooms.

FULL BOARD will be charged until the room is vacated and settlement made.

PERSONS having no baggage must pay in advance.

GUESTS inviting others to eat with them should report them at the office.

FULL BOARD charged for children occupying seats at the first table.

For all MEALS sent to Rooms, or out of time, fifty per cent extra will be charged.

REGULAR BOARDERS are required to pay in advance.

The Proprietor will not be responsible for Money, Valuables or Baggage, unless specially deposited for safe keeping.

Guests will please report at the office, any neglect or inattention of servants.

RATES OF BOARD.

Per Day, either in Bacon	10 lbs.
" " " Lard	10 "
" " " Butter,	6 "
" " " Flour,	30 "
" " " Currency,	\$40
Single Meal or Lodging,	\$10

MEAL HOURS.

Breakfast 8½	Dinner 1	Tea 7
	W. H. CUNINGGIM,	
	Proprietor.	
.....	Clerk.	

Mrs. George M. Woodward, by a large gift of American magazines, has helped to complete many sets.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions has presented the original passport given by the Sultan of Turkey to the Rev. Rufus Anderson, an honored, early missionary of the Board. One of Worcester's leading Armenians has kindly translated this interesting manuscript broadside:

MR. ANDERSON, eminent in learning and a nobleman of America, in company with an indigenous servant and interpreter, has made application to us through the United States embassy, for a written permit, to enable him to travel by land and sea towards Beyroot, holy Jerusalem, holy Damascus and Cairo of Egypt.

During his travels to and from these places, all the clergy, students and governors, members of councils and all others in authority in those states, must honor and protect the said nobleman, that he may return safe and thus our royal command be carried out.

The servant who accompanies him is not one of those who takes an assumed name nor he dress in European attire, but is, nevertheless, a true American.

During their sojourn in Constantinople or in their travels in the above mentioned places, whenever they may tarry and on their return and whenever requested and in accordance with my Royal commands, their necessities should be obtained and delivered to them and payment be demanded for them. Never to annoy or discomfort them but give them due respect and protection.

Dated 1260 Mohamedan era

1844 Christian era

Literally translated from the original by Michael H. Topanelian.
Worcester, Mass., A. D. 1905.

We make special acknowledgment of the many bibliographical aids supplied by the Library of Congress through Dr. Herbert Putnam, its efficient head.

The first twenty volumes of the "Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections" were received from our late associate Hon. James V. Campbell of Detroit, upon application of the librarian. Volumes 21-32 have reached us with the following gracious letter:

LANSING, MICH., December 2, 1904.

I have your letter of Nov 29th. We will send you by express the volumes of the Pioneer and Historical Collections, which are necessary to complete your file. We are very glad to do this as a tribute to the memory of our honored and revered Judge Campbell. In the books we are about to send you will notice vol. 30 is lacking. This volume has not yet been published.

Very truly yours,

MARY C. SPENCER,
State Librarian.

The Worcester County Law Library Association has thoughtfully furnished a framed photograph of their Vinton portrait of the Honorable George F. Hoar. It has been placed in the office with the portraits of the other Presidents of the Society.

Two copies of the rare volume two of our *Archæologia Americana* have been secured by purchase, both containing manuscript notes. The brief "notes and queries" in one copy are by the late Judge Hiram W. Beckwith of Danville, Illinois, from whose library it was obtained. The other copy is backed in gilt, *Archæologia | Americana | 2 | Synopsis of | Indian Tribes*; and upon the fly-leaf in ink "Mr. Schoolcraft | St. Mary's | with Mr. Gallatin's respects." At the end of the Synopsis Mr. Gallatin has added extra pages 419-422 in print, the first two pages containing "Supplementary Cherokee Transitions," with notes by Mr. Gallatin and the Rev Mr. Worcester: the others marked "Errata and Corrections" are followed by a note of the Publishing Committee. Not only are the *Errata* double in number but they do not wholly agree with those in the regular issue. There are also some erasures which are not noted even in Mr. Gallatin's

revised *Errata*. All changes in the text have been made with ink, by the author. The present interest in Indian linguistics is perhaps a sufficient excuse for this brief statement, to which the special attention of our associates, Drs. Hale and Chamberlain is called.

We have been able from time to time to throw light upon the evolution of the American public library. The social libraries, lyceums, reading clubs, village libraries, *etc.*, suggest some of the early forms taken by this important movement. The brief official record of the "Boarding-House Library" established at Worcester in the year 1817, is here preserved. The minor entries of the clerk and treasurer, which are for the years 1817-19, 1821 and 1822, relate to the purchase of books with the receipts therefor, and the payment of dues. The agreement, which contains nineteen signatures, is apparently in the handwriting of Isaac Goodwin clerk—an honored member of this Society for twenty years and of its Council from 1825 until his death in 1832. Following is the compact:

"C. C. Pleas, Worcester, December term, 1817.

The subscribers, members of the bar of the County of Worcester, desirous of purchasing a small number of useful law books for their mutual accommodation, during the sitting of the Courts in Worcester, agree to pay into the hands of such person as a majority shall designate as their treasurer, the sum of fifty cents each at the present term, and twenty-five cents at each of the succeeding terms of the C. C. Pleas for the year next ensuing the date hereof and for such further time as two thirds of the members for the time being shall agree upon, to be appropriated for the purchase of the books aforesaid.

And they hereby mutually agree each for himself with all the others that the books to be purchased as aforesaid shall be kept in the town of Worcester at the house occupied by a majority of the members of this Association as a boarding house, and shall not be carried therefrom on any occasion unless by the permission of such majority.

And they severally agree as aforesaid, that if any one of the members of this Association shall voluntarily leave the said boarding house he shall be considered as having relinquished his interest in said books for the benefit of those who may remain, and for such others as may be admitted parties to this agreement in manner hereafter provided.

And it is furthur mutually agreed, by the parties aforesaid that no person other than the original parties to this agreement shall become members of this Association without the consent of a majority of the members for the time being, and paying to their treasurer two thirds of the sum that shall have then been paid by each of the original members.

Worcester, Decr. 11, 1817."

I present the following letters from our Associate Dr. Kingsbury:—

WATERBURY, CONN., Oct. 11, 1904.

EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq., *Librarian, etc.*,

Dear Sir:—

There is, or was a few years since, a word in common use in Eastern Massachusetts, to wit "Cornwallis," in regard to the origin of which, as it was there used, I have been much puzzled.

I think I first saw it in Hosea Biglow's letter where he says,

"Didn't we have lots of fun, you'n I an' Ezry Hollis,
Down to Waltham Plain last fall, a havin' the Cornwallis?"

and in the Article "Cambridge" in the "Fireside Traveller" Lowell says, "The Cornwallis had entered upon the estate of the old Guy Fawkes procession, confiscated by the Revolution," from which I judge that the 'Cornwallis' was a burlesque military performance, like what we in Connecticut used to call "The Invincibles," and which I think was sometimes called the "Antiques and Horribles," this evidently being a play on the title of the "Ancient and Honorable" Artillery Company of Boston.

I cannot learn that the name 'Cornwallis' was used in Western Massachusetts, but lately to my great surprise, I came across it used in Eastern New York with apparently the same sense that it had in Eastern Massachusetts.

In the diary of a Connecticut boy, Daniel Garnsey, of Waterbury, then about 21, kept while visiting, or temporarily residing, at New City, now the shire town of Rockland County in the State of New York, under date of Nov. 6, 1781, he writes: "went through Warwick, where was an ox roasting for the Cornwallis. A huge number of misses. women and children gathered around it and among them many fashionable ladies, all very earnest and much excited."

I had supposed that the name Cornwallis was a post-revolutionary title given to this sham military performance as a slur on the military abilities of the defeated general, but this use of the word in a way that

shows it to be apparently a phrase of common usage certainly points to an earlier introduction. Whether its use spread from New York to Massachusetts or *vice-versa* there is nothing here to indicate, although this application of the word seems more like a piece of Massachusetts humor. Cornwallis's defeat at Yorktown was less than three weeks before the date above given in the diary, hardly more than time for the news to have reached that point and certainly not long enough for the word to have been applied to this use and adapted as a part of the vernacular. All this points to some earlier date and apparently to some specific occasion as having given rise to the application of the word in this sense.

Mr. James L. Whitney of the Boston Library, to whose attention I called the phrase, suggests that as Cornwallis had been in the country five or six years the name may have been first applied on some previous occasion. This is plausible; but when and why? There is just a possibility that this New York State celebration was one of a number immediately following Cornwallis's capture, and that there was genuine rejoicing, of which Cornwallis's defeat was the occasion, and that afterward the celebrations, while retaining the name, lapsed in dignity until they became a mere burlesque. Indeed, on reflection this appears to me a quite probable solution. But I would like either a confirmation or a confutation.

It has occurred to me that there might exist in your library some material known to you which would throw some light on the question. If not I leave it as a nut to be cracked by students of "words and their uses."

Truly yours,
FREDERICK J. KINGSBURY.

Oct. 21, 1904.

My Dear Mr. BARTON:—

I have another note in Garnsey's diary concerning his visit to Warwick, viz.: "Nov. 6, Thro. Warwick, where great number of people gathered for public rejoicing for the taking of Cornwallis, and whole ox a roasting." This shows that my conjecture as to the use of the word in that place was correct, but leaves us in the dark as to how the Massachusetts use came about.

Yours truly,
FREDERICK J. KINGSBURY.

Mention of the Cornwallis is to be found in Senator Hoar's "The Life of a Boy Sixty Years Ago." See *The Youth's Companion* of March 10, 1898. After quoting three verses from Lowell's famous ballad "The Courtin'" he writes: "We did not have fire-places like this in my father's house although they were common in the farmer's houses round about. We ought to have had the old King's arms. My great-grandfather, Abijah Pierce of Lincoln, was at Concord bridge in the Lincoln Company, of which his son-in-law, Samuel Hoar, was lieutenant. He had been chosen Colonel of the regiment of the Minutemen the day before, but had not qualified and had not got his

accoutrements; and so went into battle armed with nothing but a cane. He crossed the bridge, and from one of two British soldiers who lay wounded and dying, took a cartridge-box and musket, which he used during the day and preserved for many years. I suppose it was the first trophy of the Revolution. A great many years afterward one of the neighbors borrowed the musket of my uncle to take to a Cornwallis and it was lost and never recovered. I would give its weight in gold to get it back." Five years later in his "Autobiography of Seventy Years" volume I., page 55, Mr. Hoar writes: "But the great day of all was called Cornwallis, which was the anniversary of the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown. There were organized companies in uniform representing the British army and an equally large number of volunteers generally in old fashioned dress, and with such muskets and other accoutrements as they could pick up, who represented the American Army. There was a parade and a sham fight which ended as all such fights, whether sham or real, should end, in a victory for the Americans, and Cornwallis and his troops were paraded, captive and ignominious. I quite agree with Hosea Biglow when he says, 'There is fun to a Cornwallis though; I a'int agoin' to deny it.' "

Perhaps the latest contribution is from our Vice-President Hon. Samuel A. Green, in his Historical Address delivered at Groton, Massachusetts, July 12, 1905 on the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the town. On pages 32 and 33, Dr. Green says: "Akin to the subject of military matters, was a custom which formerly prevailed in some parts of Massachusetts, and perhaps elsewhere, of celebrating occasionally the anniversary of the surrender of Yorktown, which falls on October 17. Such a celebration was called a "Cornwallis;" and it was intended to represent in a burlesque manner, the siege of the town, as well as the ceremony of its surrender. The most prominent generals on each side would be per-

sonated, while the men of the two armies would wear what was supposed to be their peculiar uniform. I can recall now more than one sham fight that took place in this town during my boyhood. In 10 Cushing, 252, is to be found a decision of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts enjoining a town treasurer from paying money that had been appropriated for such a celebration.

"James Russell Lowell, in his Glossary to the Biglow Papers, thus defines the word, Cornwallis: '*a sort of muster in masquerade*; supposed to have had its origin soon after the Revolution, and to commemorate the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. It took the place of the old Guy Fawkes' procession.' Speaking in the character of Hosea Biglow, he asks,

"Recollect what fun we had, you'n I n' Ezry Hollis,
Up there to Waltham plain last fall, along o' the Cornwallis?"

"He further says in a note: 'i hait the sight of a feller with a musket as I du pizz but ther *is* fun to a cornwallis I aint agoin' to deny it.'

"The last Cornwallis in this immediate neighborhood came off about sixty years ago at Pepperell; and I remember witnessing it. Another Cornwallis on a large scale occurred at Clinton in the year 1853 in which uniformed companies of militia took part. On this occasion the burlesque display, both in numbers and details, far outshone all former attempts of a similar character, and like the song of the swan, ended a custom that had come down from a previous century. At the present day nothing is left of this quaint celebration but a faded memory and an uncertain tradition.' "

Respectfully submitted,

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

GIVERS AND GIFTS.

FROM MEMBERS.

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BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Two magazines, in continuation.

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GREEN, SAMUEL S., *Librarian*, Worcester.—His report of 1903-1904 as Librarian of the Worcester Free Public Library.

HALE, Rev. EDWARD E., D.D., Roxbury.—"The Monthly Weather Review;" and United States Weather Bureau maps, in continuation.

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CRAFTS, WILBER F., *Editor*, Washington, D. C.—Numbers of "The Twentieth Century Quarterly."

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A NOTICE OF YUCATAN WITH SOME REMARKS ON ITS WATER SUPPLY.

BY DAVID CASARES.

As I do not pretend to offer these remarks as the result of serious scientific research of my own, but rather as more or less well compiled information gathered from such sources as I have had within my reach, to which I will try to add something of my own observation, I deem it necessary to precede them by a short notice of the country they refer to.

The peninsula of Yucatan is the most southern country of North America, projecting northward from its extreme point and forming the eastern side of the Mexican Gulf, which is barred on all sides but this one, where two outlets are found, the northern one between Florida and Cuba, and the southern between this island and Yucatan, the extreme point of which at the northeast is Cape Catoche, only a hundred and fifty-three miles from Cape San Antonio on the opposite coast of Cuba. This narrow passage, Humboldt presumes was made by the eruption of the sea into the Gulf. It is situated between 18° and $21^{\circ} 32'$ North latitude and $6^{\circ} 37'$ and $12^{\circ} 5'$ longitude east of Mexico. The situation of Yucatan gives it great advantages to communicate with other countries, its extensive coasts being bathed on the north and west by the Mexican Gulf, and on the east by the Caribbean Sea, while on the south it is bounded by Guatemala. These advantages are greatly diminished, however, by our want of good ports. Campeche on the bay of the same name has a very shallow bottom, and so is the case with Celestun and Puerto de la Asension. Sisal, our port for foreign commerce until 1871, and Pro-

greso, our present port, besides being but a little better off in that respect, are without protection from storms.

The area of the peninsula according to the most accepted computations is 8,363½ square leagues, equal to 146,825 square kilometers—56,739 miles. This land to which historians have ascribed different names as those of Ulumilkutz and Ulumilceh, the land of wild turkeys and deer, and Yucalpeten (the neck of the peninsula), was most probably called Mayab, land of the Mayas. The Spaniards on their first arrival in 1517 called it Yucatan, and from that date, through the conquest, and through the colonial government, and for thirty-seven years after our independence, that name was applied to the whole peninsula as one community; but in 1858, the district of Campeche towards the southwest, became a state under that name, and very lately in 1903 the general government declared the eastern section which had just been wrested from the Indian rebels who possessed it for over fifty years, a federal territory under the name of Quintana Roo, one of the most illustrious founders of the Mexican Independence, born in this state. The English colony of Belice fills the southwestern corner of the peninsula.

This is now politically divided thus: the state of Yucatan covers an area of about 18,018 square miles and has a population of about 315,000 inhabitants, that dwell in seven cities, 14 villas, which may be called towns, 157 villages, and 2493 rural establishments spread over 16 partidos, which may be called districts; Merida, Progreso, Tixcocab, Motul, Hunucma, and Acanceh, first group; Yzamal, Temax and Sotuta, the centre group; Maxcanu, Ticul, Tekax and Peto, the southwestern group; and Espita, Valladolid and Tizimun, the eastern.

The state of Campeche comprises the five partidos of Campeche, Carmen, Hecelchakan, Champoton and Chenes, that contain two cities, 8 villas, 25 villages and 350 haciendas, ranchos and small plantations, spread over 19,½ sq. miles.

The Quintana Roo territory was formed by sections of the partidos of Valladolid, Tizimun, Sotuta, Tekax and Peto, and it has about 8,000 inhabitants, the capital of which is Chan Santa Cruz, the old headquarters of the rebels for half a century, at the distance of 220 miles from Merida, with a few small seaports.

The colony of British Honduras, the boundary lines of which were definitely settled by the Spenser-Mariscal treaty, has about 5,000 inhabitants dwelling in the capital Belize and in a few towns and rural establishments.

The aspect of the country is that of a long extended plain that goes on rising gradually from the water's edge to the foot of a ridge called the Sierra, which begins seven miles from the town of Maxcunu, in the western part of the state, and follows a winding course to the east and the southeast for the distance of ninety miles, and after leaving on its northern slope the picturesque towns of Muna, Ticul, Oxkutzcab and Tecax disappears near Kambul in the district of Peto. This Sierra is called Puc in Maya; its maximum height is 500 feet above the sea level, and is a rocky and barren structure from its beginning to about six miles before Tecax, where a stratum of rich vegetable soil begins to appear.

There is another branch of hills forming a broken chain that starts at a short distance from the coast, below the small town of Seybaplaya in the bay of Campeche, some of the peaks of which attain a considerable height. This runs parallel to the sea-side for a short distance, then it turns round forming a sort of amphitheatre where the city of Campeche is beautifully situated, after which, following a northern direction by the sea-side for two miles beyond, it turns to the northeast, goes on crossing the district of Hecelchakan and after following its course to the east and southeast, it approaches the lake of Chichankannab, near the end of the first ridge. From this point this range takes a southern course in a broken line, and goes to join the great chain

which under the different names of Rocky mountains, Sierra Madre, and Andes are the backbone of the American continent. This system is not a continuous chain like the first ridge. It is formed by a series of high hills or peaks called Uitzes, which are separated by narrow valleys the surface of which is at least as high as that of the first Sierra, and they are covered by a thick bed of vegetable soil, proper for the cultivation of corn, sugar-cane, tobacco and most tropical plants.

The plain that we mentioned as stretching from the north coast to the foot of the first Sierra, and as being of calcareous formation comprises several zones or belts. The first one extends over a great part of the peninsula from the village of Buctzotz in the district of Temax, about fifty-four miles to the northeast of Merida, to the district of Hecelchakan in the state of Campeche. This belt rests on a bed of limestone covered by a thin layer of vegetable soil and comprises the district of Merida, Acamceh, Yzamal, Maxcanu and part of Hecelchakan. Here corn, beans, and other articles of food, cattle and horses were raised to some extent, but now hemp, for which the soil is very well adapted, is raised on a great scale, and that has not only saved this state from poverty, but it has made of it one of the most prosperous of the Mexican confederacy. From Buctzotz eastward to Yalahau and from Hecelchakan to Campeche, the ground though still stony is good for the cultivation of sugar-cane, rice, etc., and improves as we advance, the soil becomes more moist and the woods are thicker and higher.

On all sides of these tracks, that is, from Yalahau on the northeastern coast to Bacalar on the southeast, and from Campeche to Champoton in the west and to the Sierras in the south, the soil attains all the luxuriance and richness of the tropics, and while all the produce of those regions can be got there, magnificent forests of a great variety of trees cover also those extensive grounds.

The lands around Ticul are of an intermediate quality, between these and those of the north, and they are still better from Tekax and Peto to Chichankanab and Saban.

If we draw a cross section or profile from the port of Progreso through Merida, Ticul, and Tzibalchen to the southern boundaries of the peninsula and Guatemala, we find first a very narrow strip of sand along the shore, then a belt of moving monticules of sand from three to eight hundred yards wide covered by a thin coating of thorny weeds and small palm trees, bordered by long patches of salt beds. Next comes the Cienega, a marshy kind of stream with a bottom of white mud, full of water weeds, two or three miles wide, dry in the dry season, with a narrow thread of water in the centre, and overflowed in the rainy season, where some islets called Petenes are found here and there, and also interrupted now and then by a peculiar kind of stream called Ojo-de-agua (water-holes). Next comes the Savana or prairie from a mile to a mile and one-half wide, which gradually disappears, giving place to a very stony formation called Tzekel, poorly covered by thorny shrubs, some lonely palm trees and wild hemp plants. This rough stony bed extends for about eight miles changing then to a better soil upon which Merida stands over 28 feet above the sea level and 28 miles from Progreso. The ground goes on rising with a smooth grading for eighteen miles more, at the end of which the surface becomes more and more rugged, so that in the railroad lines, cuts fifteen feet high are formed. For six miles before getting to Ticul, the approach to the Sierra is known, the layer of earth growing thicker and the color of it changing to a darkish red.

Two miles from the city of Ticul, the foot of the Puc is reached, the ascent to the summit of which is a mile long, its height being four hundred feet above the level of the plain. The descent on the opposite side is at most one-fourth the ascent, coming down then to a high table land

that stretches from the west of Santa Helena to the borders of Chichankanab Lake over an area twenty-five miles wide from north to south. Here the most magnificent ruins of the country are found: Uxmal, Santana Tabi, San Francisco, etc., which afford a wide field of study to the scientific man and interest to the mere tourist. Bordering this section on the south the broken chain of hills called Uitzes within the limits of the inhabited sections of the peninsula, the line of which may be traced through the villages of Tzibalchen, Yturbide Xul Becanchen.

Beyond this line an extent of land supposed to be of no less than eight thousand square miles, stretches to the province of Peten in Guatemala, covered by a thick and uninhabited forest only crossed by three paths that start from Campeche and Bacalar to the Lake of Peten, through stations placed far from each other.

Now if we examine a map of Yucatan, we see that from the Champoton River that empties into the Campeche Bay, on the south end of the western coast to the Manatin river that empties into the Ascension Bay, about the middle of the opposite coast, there is no river or stream whatever worth the name, they are only small inlets of the sea or cuts made by the heavy showers of the rainy season. The Champoton River has a course seventy-five miles long, from Lake Jobonochac and is navigable by small craft of from 10 to 15 tons for the distance of 15 miles inland. The water courses of the eastern coast are of little importance, even those of San Jose and Hondo that water the extreme southern portion. As for the Nohbecan (the great stream in Maya) the Pocayxun, the Palizada and some brooks, they are only profitable to a small section of the southwestern corner of the peninsula.

Yucatan is very poor in lakes, those only that deserve that name are the Laguna de Chechankanab (small sea) about 20 miles in length by less than three wide; that called Ocon from which the Manatin River takes its course

seventy-two miles from Ascension Bay, and that of Jobonochac.

We will finish this notice of the physical conditions of Yucatan with some remarks on its climate.

From the observations taken in the observatory of the State Literary Institute, I find that in 1903, the lowest temperature taken was 7°. 2 Centigrade—44°. 96 F. on several days in December, and the highest 39° C.—102°.2F. on the 19 of April, though on the very first of that month the minimum registered was 13°.3 C.—55°.5 F. The highest monthly average was 29°.1 C.—80°.38 F. in June; and the lowest, 21°.6 C.—70°.08 F. in December. The average of the minimum noted in the whole year was 17°.60 C.—62°.69 F. and the average of the maximum 32°.9 C.—91°.22 F.

In 1904, the lowest temperature was that of 7°. 2 C. on the 15th and 16th of January and February—44°. 96 F. and the highest on the sixth day of May, 38° 4 C.—101°. 12 F., though the thermometer went down several times that month to 23°. 0 C.—75°. 8 F. The highest average was 28°. C.—82°. 4 F., both in May and June; and the lowest in February 22°. 9 C.—73°. 22 F. The average of minimum temperature registered the whole year was 17°. 8 C.—68°.1F; and the average maximum 97°. 34 F. These differences between the highest and the lowest temperatures are explained by the fact that the heat always diminishes in the night and the early morn.

An idea of the mortality of the country can be had by these numbers: on an average of 315,000 inhabitants, 3,768 deaths were registered in one quarter of a year from the first of July to the 30th of December, 1903; 2,975 from the first of October to the 31st of September; 2,470 for the first quarter of 1904, and 2,960 in the second, up to the 30th of June. The lowest number of deaths registered was that of 808 in March, and the highest 1,348 in July and August.

The cases of yellow fever we have are generally from importation, and they are fatal mostly to Mexicans of the high

table lands of the interior and to Europeans. From the first of January to the 31st of March, 1904, we had 24 cases, of which 14 were cured and 10 fatal. In the second quarter of the year those numbers were 38, 17, and 21 respectively; and in the third they were 17, 9, and 8. As a consequence of the strong sanitary measures taken by our present administrations both local and federal, that scourge has almost wholly disappeared, and to such an extent that during the worst months of this year from May to August we did not have a single case in a period of a hundred days.

We only have two seasons: the rainy season begins about the end of May and lasts till the end of November. Showers are very frequent and heavy during the first three months and go on slackening in number and intensity toward the end. The dry season lasts the rest of the year, March and April being commonly the driest months, during which all vegetation is laid waste and the air is suffocating, not only on account of the natural heat of the season but also because during those months they burn the cornfields that are to be sown at the beginning of the rainy season. The scene then changes rapidly, the leaves renew their verdant hue, and the wild flowers balm the air.

We have no earthquakes as our ground is not volcanic; but we felt something like it two years ago in Merida and Progreso.

From the general description and notice of the physical conditions of Yucatan and such as I have been able to give in a condensed form, it is easily understood that the water supply, not only for the common needs of life but for those of agriculture and all kinds of industries, is a question of paramount importance in the country. I will now try to show how this *sine qua non* desideratum of life and work has been provided by a merciful nature. But before going further into the bottom of the subject, I must state that I agree with Stephens and other explorers who think that at least the northeastern portion of the peninsula was, in a

former period, covered by the sea. That conclusion they draw from the lowness of the coast, from the fact that marine shells are found in the calcareous rocks, whenever they are bored to dig a well; and that these shells are also found at the bottom of caverns far from the sea incrusted in the solid rock, and from the fact that the sea is constantly and perceptibly receding from the coast. In the first zone, potable water of more or less good quality is found within 15 miles inland, a little brackish and hard by the seaside, but improving as you go on, and good for domestic purposes. In Merida, the wells are 27 feet deep and there the water is pure enough and no other was used until cisterns began to be built on a great scale. Following the rule that the farther you go inland the deeper the wells and the purer the water, and that the wells are $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches deeper per mile, we find that within that distance of 40 to 60 miles from the seacoast their depth ranges from 40 to 60 feet. At the first Sierra in Muna, Ticul, and Tekax they are 90 feet deep. Beyond the first Sierra in the region of fine rich lands, once the seat of flourishing cities, the ruins of which are silent witnesses of the high degree of civilization acquired by departed races, and where thriving haciendas and ranchos have them within their borders, the wells are from 200 to 240 feet deep. In all the area comprised between the Pucs on the north and a line that may be drawn from Muna to Calkini in the west, and from there to the southeast through Santa Helena, Uxmal, Santana and San Francisco to the Sierra of the Pucs back again. To the south of this line going into the region of the Uitzes, the few wells that are found there are very deep. Among the most remarkable ones we may mention, is that of Sabaché nine miles to the south of Tabi, dug in the neighborhood of the ruins of that name in the centre of a region where water was not to be found miles around. A hat or a very light object thrown into the well at certain hours of the day will be thrown out again.

The little town of Xul, which means the end, *ultima thule*, a curate whom Stephens knew, dug a well 200 feet deep, in the thirties of the last century at the cost of \$1,500, an enormous sum in those days. Fifteen miles to the southwest of Sabacché is the hacienda Yaxché, half-way between Santa Helena and Bolonchen, 27 miles apart, the noria (well) of which is 240 feet deep, was the only source of water supply of this kind for over two thousand souls that lived in the place and its neighborhood before the Indian war of 1848, when that part of the country was laid waste by the rebel Indians. On the way from Hecelchakan to Bolonchen you find Montebello, a rancho that has a well 270 feet deep, and farther to the southeast Chicmuc with one 312 feet deep, Yalmon with one 468 and Uechil with another about the same.

Then comes the town of Bolonchen in the neighborhood of which is the famous cave called Xtacumbilxunan. In that same neighborhood there is an old noria or well, the digging of which had probably been given up many years ago. The government of Campeche ordered the continuation of the work, and water was found four hundred thirty-two feet underground, but it affords a very meagre supply. The wells of Yalnom and Uechil, in the very heart of the Uitzes country, were bored by drilling carried on by a scientific method and the water is hauled out by powerful pumps. The deepest well now in use is that of the rancho Polyuc, about fifteen miles south of San Antonio, a station on the Merida and Peto railroad, ninety-three miles from Merida. This was also drilled by modern scientific methods, and water was found at the depth of 552 feet, through various layers and strata of earth, common rock, clay, flint and granite. The work went on steadily for four months and its cost amounted to fourteen thousand dollars, Mexican money. Still we read in Stephens's most interesting work, of wells that had to be given up at the depth of 600 feet in those high regions. To finish this part of my

subject, I will mention a row of ancient wells that are found along the road from Teabo to Chacksinkin, about seventy miles to the southeast of Merida, that are said to have been dug without boring through the rock, but simply by digging the earth that filled the crevices to the depth of ninety feet. It is also worthy of remark that in the town of Chapab in the region called Sierra-Baja, because the ground rises some fifty feet above the level of the plain on which Merida and the centre districts stand, the wells are only eighteen feet deep; and those of Sotuta in the centre of the state are twenty-seven feet deep. Both places are built on low patches of ground.

If we were to depend on the wells only for the supply of water, the greater part of our peninsula could not be inhabited, but fortunately there are other sources provided by nature, such as the Sartenejas, the Aguadas, the Ojo-de-agua and the Cenotes.

The Sartenejas are natural hollows or cavities found in our rocky grounds. They get full of water in the rainy season, and their supply holds out for some time into the dry season, as there are many of them and their dimensions sometimes are five and six yards long, two to three wide, and two to three deep. They afford considerable help to places where water is scarce, and some small ranches have no other source. Near Xul there is a sarteneja 90 feet in circumference and 10 deep.

The Aguadas are much more important than the sartenejas, and they are very numerous, and often of considerable size. They can be classified in two groups, natural and artificial. The first group follows the broken line that can be traced from the district of Tizimin in the northeast, and goes through those of Espita, Yxamal, Sotuta, Acanceh, Ticul, Maxanu and Hecelchakan towards Campeche. They are mostly mere pools of unwholesome water deposited over a muddy bed, with organic substances in suspension and of a dark bluish color. They are full during the rainy season;

in the dry season their level generally goes down, some become dry altogether, but many of them hold out all through it. The decomposition of organic matter they contain, has a very unhealthy influence on the air of their surroundings where paludism is very common, and the aguadas are generally only good for cattle to drink. They are seldom over one hundred feet wide, though some are much larger and there is one named Yalahua in the district of Acanceh, near Homun, that is seven hundred yards across, which never gets dry.

The artificial aguadas are found in the high hilly ground of the interior at the bottom of the basins formed by the hills, where the rain water comes naturally to be deposited. Some have a bottom made out of stones and some have not such stones, and they are of all sizes—true works of art they are—that show the ingenuity and attainments of their builders. The bottom is made with large blocks of stone with a plain surface several layers deep, and so set alternately as to cover the joints, which are in most cases filled with clay, though this material is not always found in their vicinity. In the centre of the best built aguadas, ancient wells are found from four to five feet in diameter with their sides made of smooth stones put together without mortar, and around their margin there are several hundreds of pits called Casimbas. The water filters into the wells and pits and when the supply that fills the aguada is exhausted, these casimbas come to the rescue. These bodies of water are so considerable that in years of protracted drought, not only the population of the ranchos nearby, but also that for miles around get their supply from them. The following description of one of these curious water works differing somewhat from the common type, made by the acute observer mentioned before (Stephens), gives a good idea of them:

“Near the rancho Jalal, between Becanchen and Tekax, near Macoba, there is a picturesque aguada of a differ-

ent construction from the others, which was discovered while digging holes in search of water. It had a square platform at the top and beneath was a round well, faced with smooth stones, from 20 to 25 feet deep. Below this was another square platform, and under the latter another well of less diameter, and about the same depth. The discovery of this well induced further excavations until upwards of forty wells were found, differing in character and construction. Those were all cleared and the whole aguada repaired, since which it furnishes a supply during the greater part of the dry season, and when this fails the wells appear and continue the supply until the rain comes on again."

The Ojos-de-agua, or water holes, are found on the northern coast, though that section is the most barren, being as we said before, a wide extended plain of limestone formation, in spite of which the supply of water is more abundant here. The character of these remarkable phenomena is thus described by Humboldt, though he did not see them and obtained his information from other sources: "On the northern coast, at the mouth of the Lagartos River, at four hundred miles from the shore, some springs of sweet water ooze out through the salt water. They are called Bocas (mouths) of Conil. It is probable that hydrostatic pressure forces the sweet water to rise above the salt water after breaking the banks of calcareous rocks, through the fissures of which they have run thither." These Ojos-de-Agua, water springs, are not rare along the coast. In the neighborhood of Chuburna they are very numerous and so they are in other places. I lately saw two very remarkable ones, one of them by the little port of Yalahau, 194 miles east of Progreso, and another one near Chiquila Beach, some eight miles farther on. This is now of great use, its waters being carried by means of powerful machinery, pumps and pipes, three miles inland to feed the great deposits of a sugar plantation, where water is scarce and of bad quality.

The Cenotes are not only the most curious and remarkable phenomena that make the study of this country interesting, but they are the best gift that nature could bestow upon it as a compensation for the want of lakes and rivers, partaking as they do of the character of caves and springs, or as most people think, of subterraneous rivers. They were called cenotes by the Spaniards from their Indian name, Tzonot, and may be classified into two groups. The first is found in the western section, and the second one in the eastern section of the country. The former are great caverns with imposing, yawning mouths that open into great chambers with high fantastic looking vaults, from which hang enormous stalactites formed by the filtration of water. From these chambers, halls, or vestibules winding passages branch off in every direction. These are generally dark, but they are sometimes lighted by some body of light that comes from above, and they lead generally down to the deposits in the deep recesses of the cave. In these cenotes, the stalactites and stalagmites are more numerous and varied, and a soft noise is produced by the constant falling of a drop of water, that like a crystal thread comes down quietly and steadily right into the great cistern or basin formed by the calcareous sediment, where these drops keep an everlasting cool and clear delicious liquid.

Among a great number of these caves, we may mention that of Talchaquillo, not far from the ancient capital city of Mayapan. Here the water rises in level during the rainy season, and goes down in the dry season; but they never disappear altogether. Beautiful specimens of these natural and useful curiosities are those of Loltun (the flower cave), near Oxfutzcab and Sajcabha (white earth water), near Tekax, both of which are said to be about a mile long, but they have never been thoroughly explored. In the district of Chenes (the wells), there are several of them. In a place called San Jose, six miles from Noh-Yaxché, there is a regular grotto at the bottom of which very good

sweet water is found. And fifteen miles from Tzitbalchen, there is a small borough called Cumpich, inhabited wholly by Indians, that get their water from a grotto with an oblique entrance, at the bottom of which going down a ladder, there is what seems to be a natural spring known for ages. But the most remarkable of these caves are those of Xcoh and Chack, and more than all of them is that of Xtocumbil-Xunam, which is a perfect wonder. That of Xcoh, three miles from Santa Helena, formerly called Nohcacab, is in all ways remarkable. A popular tradition made it marvellous with the Indians, who asserted that there were to be found in its winding passages and chambers, sculptured figures, a great square adorned with columns that upheld a vaulted roof, a great polished table and more interesting than all these, a covered way to Mani, twenty-seven miles away. As it is, as you go through crooked passages, so low at times that you have to crawl to get on, as you cross large chambers and go over a feeble set of poles, put up for a bridge over a yawning chasm, and up steep rickety ladders until you get to the water basin, you meet many objects that an excited imagination easily takes for sculptured figures and the like.

There are two things that call your attention in this descent several hundred feet long. For about a third part of the distance a strong current of wind takes away your breath. And next there is all along a track some three inches deep, that Stephens rightly conjectures could not be easily cut by the foot-step of a straggling population, but by the constant treading of the inhabitants of the city, whose ruins are found in the neighborhood without any visible means of supply of water. As to the passage that leads to Mani, that is stopped by the natural closing of the rock. The cave of Chack, a little farther from Nohcacab, is on the western slope of the first sierra. This has also precipitous descent through perpendicular holes, caverns, chasms and dark passages, to which you go down by nine

different ladders to the bottom, where a deposit of cold water is at last found, at a distance of two hundred feet from the ground in a vertical line, and about five hundred from the mouth of the cave. This descent is so fatiguing and dangerous that as an exception to what is seen everywhere else, only men and never women go down to take and carry out the water. The so-called wells of Bolonchen and Becanchen, constitute a singular phenomena. The town of Bolonchen belongs to the Chenes district and is ninety-four miles from Merida and forty-five from Campeche. That name means "nine wells," which are found within the public square, and they seem to be but holes in the rock or circular deposits with an interior connection with one another, getting their supply by the filtering of rain water from some unknown source, from which it goes slowly to these deposits that are found only a few feet from the ground, and where water holds out seven or eight months in the year. Becanchen is a town thirty-one miles from Merida. Its name means "well with a current," and it is situated at the bottom of one of the table-lands of the second cluster of hills. Several wells are found in the plaza or public square, the surface of which is a ledge of stone and as the bottom and sides are of solid rock, the waters that filter through the fissures of the ground are kept there for a long time. In the declivity of the hill below the square, the stream that gives the name to the town gushes from the rocks filling the basin beneath with clear water. These wells are true oases in these dry and high grounds.. I said that the cave or Cenote of Xtacumbil-Xunan, near Bolonchen is a perfect wonder, and so it is. That name means "the hidden lady," referring to a popular legend.

Entering a rude, lofty and abrupt opening under a bold ledge of overhanging rock, you go into a wild cavern, which on advancing becomes darker, but after going down two rough ladders, you get to the brink of a great perpen-

dicular descent, where there is a third ladder ninety feet long that leads to the bottom and where a great body of light comes from the surface of the ground 210 feet above. Still going down this immense chamber where gigantic stalactites and great blocks of stone assume all kinds of shapes, through crooked and dark passages, sometimes so steep that you have to go up four rude ladders more, branching off in different directions, you get to seven deposits of water, called each by the name that pretends to show its peculiar quality, at the oblique distance of about fourteen hundred feet from the mouth of the cave, and at a perpendicular depth of four hundred and fifty. These basins are called Putzulha (water that runs away), Chachac-ha (red water), Sallab-ha (spring water), Akab-ha (dark water), Choco-ha (warm water), and Chimes-ha from the name of an insect that is found there. When the supply of water in the wells of the town failed, the whole population had no other source but that, and they inaugurated the season of this painful task by a great feast held during one day each year in the spacious hall at the foot of the great ladder.

The second group of cenotes are found scattered over the eastern part of the peninsula, starting beyond Acanceh and stretching to the district of Sotuta, Ticul and all the eastern districts. They are much more numerous in the three first that were mentioned. They are immense circular holes from sixty to two hundred feet in diameter, with a perpendicular depth of from fifty to one hundred feet with rocky sides that go to the bottom, where great deposits of water with a current are found. The bottom is not always reached and their level does not change. Not infrequently a small kind of fish called bagre is found there also. They all have a name, according to the habit of the Indian of giving one to natural objects of all descriptions, and as a general rule, it is a compound word that ends with the syllable ha (water) more or less well expressed, and

that of some quality that they ascribe to it, as for instance, Chochola (brackish water) Yaxcaba (water on green soil) and that name is the same one as that of the place where they are found, chiefly in rural localities. Mr. Molina, in his remarkable history of the discovery of Yucatan gives the names of thirty-four cenotes that were best known before the conquest; but there are a great many more of them: viz. Yazcaba, Tabi, Cuzama, etc. Among the most noted I will mention two in Valladolid, over one of which the old convent was built; that of Yaxcabal right in the middle of the plaza, sixty feet from the surface of the ground, and with a body of water fifty feet deep, and that of Tabi, of which our historian, Cogolludo, speaks of the appearance of a fine palm tree when the rays of the sun struck full into the surface of the water. This is also in the plaza of that little village once famous for a beautiful church now going to ruin. Finally I will mention the far renowned cenotes of Chichen-Ytza, visited by Bishop Landa in 1560, only eighteen years after the foundation of Merida, by Gogolludo and by all the archaeologists and travellers who have come since then to study our stately and magnificent ruins. The first cenote, and the one nearest the cluster of the ruined buildings is like all of this group, a great hole with rocky perpendicular sides on which a steep winding path leads to the water's edge, a path that seems to be artificial. Somewhat different from others of the same character, this cenote is oblong, about three hundred fifty feet in length and one hundred fifty wide and its sides rise sixty odd feet from the surface of the water.

The sacred cenote which to this day is held in admiration and awe, not only by the Indians but by most people that visit it, is about four hundred fifty feet north of the Castillo, the superb structure which standing over a lofty terrace in the shape of a pyramid, over towers the plain and catches your eye as you approach the field of ruins. A paved way several inches high leads to it, through a

thick forest. According to Mr. Thompson's* measurements this famous piece of water is some hundred and fifty feet in diameter, the surface of the water is seventy feet below the ground, while its depth is forty feet and the thickness of the layer of mud that is found there is thirty feet. The water is of a greenish hue, due probably to its great depth and to the shadow reflected on its surface by the trees that grow on the brink of the cenote, giving it a savage, mournful appearance enhanced by the associations recalled by a small temple that stands on the very brink, and which was probably connected with the superstitious and barbarous practices for which this mysterious well was used. Indeed it was a place of pilgrimage for the ancient Mayas, a holy place which with the sanctuary of Kabul in Yzamal, and that of Cozumel, connected by well built causeways that traversed the country, some vestiges of which still exist, was held in great veneration; and to these they repaired when a public calamity threatened the land, as the loss of the harvests, a long drought or impending war. The pilgrims came not only from other places of the peninsula but also from the neighboring provinces of Tabasco, Chiapas and Guatemala. The pilgrimage was carried on with great solemnity, and all along the way they went on visiting the old temples they found and carried their offerings, consisting not only of the richest objects they could get, but also of animals and human beings, preferring for the sacrifices the most healthy, vigorous and handsome, which were probably whirled down from the little temple already mentioned. Some fragments from Landa's work will illustrate our subject: "After the Spaniards went away, as the supply of water failed in the land, and because they had spent all their coin during the invasions, a great starvation ensued, and the Xius, Lords of the Mani, decided to offer solemn sacrifices to their idols, taking male and female

*Mr. Edward H. Thompson, United States Consul at Meriden, author of "A Page of History" in this number of the Proceedings.

slaves to throw into the well of Chichen-Ytza; and as they had to go through the town of the Cocomes, their capital enemies, whom they thought would renew their old grievances in such a crisis, they sent a message begging them to go through their land, and the Cocomes betrayed them, complying with their request." Paragraph XIV, 80th page. On page 158 he says, "They held Cozumel and the well of Chichen-Ytza in the same veneration as do pilgrims now Jerusalem and Rome, and so they used to visit them, carrying their offerings chiefly to Cozumel, as holy places, and when they could not go they sent them." Again I copy this from page 344. "They had the habit then of throwing into this well living men as sacrifices to their gods in time of drought, and they thought that these would not die though they never saw them again. They used also to throw precious stones and the things they most prized. Just on the brink of the well there is a small building where I found all kinds of idols in honor of all the gods of the land like the Parthenon in Rome:" What Landa, Cogolludo and all other writers had narrated from mere heresay, one of the distinguished members of this Society, Mr. E. H. Thompson, has had the satisfaction to realize, bringing to light the truth of those statements, by diligent and intelligent work, the results of which I will not mention as that grateful and honorable task belongs exclusively to him.

The general belief is that these cenotes, at least those that belong to the second group, are subterraneous rivers, as it appears by the current of their waters, their level, their great supply, which does not seem to diminish, and which is probably fed by sources and streams of an origin as little known as the currents themselves. There is, nevertheless, a phenomenon noted in this country that may perhaps explain their origin, and that is the great sewers called Xuches in Maya, found chiefly in the second region of the high hills. These Xuches, the surface of which keeps closed during the dry season by a layer of thick chalky earth, in a thick

compact mass, which in the rainy season is softened by the great quantity of water that overflows the low plains, the fissures are opened and the waters rush into them, carrying all that comes in their way. These bottomless sewers are found in great numbers in the districts of the eastern portion of the peninsula and in those of Sotuta and Bacalar; and it is to be deduced that these subterraneous rivers are fed by them, that they keep on their course to our low coasts, and that they are the sources of those springs of sweet water like the ones of Conil and of many other places. The words quoted are a resumé of the explanation given by Messrs. Regil and Peon in a good statistical work published in 1853. Some think that these cenotes have their source among the mountains of Chiapas and Guatemala. May it not be also that those that have no current are the outlets of great subterraneous lakes, some of which are connected with one another? The satisfactory solution of this puzzling question will not probably be found till the geological study of the country is carried to a greater extent. So far we have only the data got by boring in search of an artesian well in the city of Merida in 1864, and carried on afterward to the depth of eight hundred feet, and the data acquired by Mr. Agnew, manager of the gas company of Yucatan in another quarter of the same city, where he drilled to the depth of 2,240 feet, which operation gave him very curious and unexpected results.

The question of the supply of water of most of the ancient cities is still a matter of study. The Chaltunes or cisterns found in their neighborhood, do not seem to be of sufficient capacity, being as they are subterraneous dome-shaped structures, those found at Uxmal with mouths but eighteen inches in diameter, which increase to 7 feet, 6 inches below in the body of the cistern, and 10 feet 6 inches perpendicular from the mouth.

Of the great cisterns that are to be found in many quarters where water is scarce, the most remarkable are those

built by the curate of Rodriguez in Xul, and are of a more modern construction. Mr. E. Ancona and other historians conjecture that the frequent migrations of the Mayas and most of the wars the different tribes waged against each other were caused by the want of that element.

The process by which water has been hauled from the bowels of the earth like that of all new countries in their evolutions towards progress, is the same one with some slight difference. In the first place we ought perhaps, to mention the primitive well, older than Jacob, as we learn among other sources from the beautiful story of the woman of Samaria, in which the traditional bucket and rope are used. When the wants are greater and the depth of the well is considerable, they have a horse to haul out the buckets; and when the requirements are greater still, as those of an hacienda, the noria, a Moorish apparatus, is needed. This noria is a rudimentary, rough, wooden machine, set over the mouth of the well, the horizontal section of which is about eight feet by three, made up of two wheels, the vertical one has a cage for a felley formed by arms that engage with those of the horizontal wheel, and drive it, while a string of buckets of different kind of material, such as leather, the bark of trees, or tin, hung over the felley of the horizontal wheel, follows the rotation of both of them, imparted by a lever attached to the top of the hub of the vertical wheel, and pulled by a horse, makes them go round the well and carries the water out. This noria gives good service where there are no pumps and it only wants a horse to pull the lever.

Haciendas that have a population of one hundred souls and some two hundred head of cattle and horses only need one. Uayalceh, where they have about a thousand animals to water and a population of over one thousand, more than half of whom go to get their supply there, have two norias constantly at work, and that is all they want. For the last forty years, steam pumps are found in almost all

haciendas of any importance, and for the last ten or fifteen years, wind mills of which there was only one in the country in 1882, number now over twelve hundred in Merida alone, and their use extends rapidly.

I beg your pardon, gentlemen, for bringing these remarks to an end by saying a few words in favor of my country, impelled by the love that all men feel for their native land. In spite of the obstacles and difficulties I have mentioned, and perhaps owing to these very causes, the state of Yucatan, with a population of 315,000 inhabitants, thinly spread over an extensive territory, has accomplished a fair share of work in the way of progress. Yellow fever has been almost completely expelled from its borders. Education has been promoted as much as its financial conditions allow. With a budget of \$2,653,996, Mexican money, there are 343 public schools, both day and evening, paid by the State treasury at an expense of \$291,052. There are also a large number of boys' and girls' private schools, besides those paid for by the municipalities. The public schools of Merida number thirty-five. With the increased budget now in preparation for the next year, those numbers are to be increased. A model school house for those of that city was inaugurated last September at a cost of \$100,000 M. c., and appropriate buildings for the same purpose are to be erected in other localities. Benevolent institutions have strongly enlisted public attention, and next January the President of the Republic is to inaugurate among other works, an Insane Asylum and a great Hospital that has twenty-eight separate pavilions, built and furnished in accordance with the latest requisites of medical science. A portion of the streets of Merida have been paved with bricks, but generally with asphalt, not only the central ones, but also some in the suburbs. Electric lights began to be used in 1884. Our means of communication have been improved, and there are now six different railroad lines with an aggregate length of over 550 miles; and tram-

ways for public and private use are very numerous and of a very considerable aggregate length. The first telegraph line was laid in 1865. Now they run from Merida to Campeche and to all the chief towns, to the frontiers of the State and to Mexico by the intermission of cable. The telephone is very widely used. Besides the two lines owned by two companies, there are many private lines. The railroads of course have their own telegraph and telephone service. A line of meteorological observatories has been established over the whole state with a full equipment of the most modern instruments. The central station is in Merida, and there is one in the chief towns of the other districts. 986,655,683 kilogrammes of merchandise were imported in the year 1903 from foreign ports to the amount of \$7,011,553, and 67,377,714 kilogrammes worth \$18,729,644 were imported from domestic ports. During that year the exports amounted to 100,883,683 kilogrammes worth \$37,497,169, in which numbers hemp counts for 93,058,666 kilogrammes worth \$33,331,157 Mexican money. In 1904 we exported 606,008 bales of hemp, weighing 97,205,649 kilogrammes on board 167 steamers, which hemp was estimated at the value of \$32,022,563. Of those 606,008 bales, 509,634 weighing 81,093,418 kilogrammes were exported to the United States. Finally a concession for the water supply of the city of Merida has been granted to an American company that has already begun work.

THE JACKSON AND VAN BUREN PAPERS.

BY WILLIAM MAC DONALD.

I HAVE lately had occasion to examine the papers of Jackson and Van Buren in the Library of Congress, and the president of this Society adjudged that some remarks about those collections would be appropriate for this meeting.

The Jackson papers are known as the Montgomery Blair collection. They were presented to the Library in 1903 by the family of Montgomery Blair, who received them from the Jackson heirs. I do not know entirely the history of the Jackson papers, but enough to suggest that it is an interesting one. I remember the late Senator Hoar saying a few years ago, speaking of these papers, that when he was a member of the Senate Committee on the Library, there were brought to the rooms of the Committee at the Capitol two trunks, said to contain the papers of Andrew Jackson. The trunks had been removed temporarily from a building in Washington in which they had been stored for some time, and the custodians, being in doubt as to the safest disposition to make of them, had placed them temporarily in the Capitol in the custody of the Senate Library Committee, or some member of it. The Senator told how he opened one of the trunks, and discovered that the papers were neatly arranged in bundles; and having a curiosity to examine some of them, he took up the one lying on top, and read, endorsed in Jackson's handwriting upon the outside of it, "General Pakenham's plan of the battle of New Orleans, picked up on the field."

Mr. Worthington C. Ford, custodian of the manuscripts

in the Library, is my authority for saying that the Jackson papers were turned over by Jackson himself to Amos Kendall, Postmaster-General in Jackson's administration, to be used in the preparation of a biography of Jackson. From those papers Kendall selected such as he desired to use, but the whole collection in his hands was destroyed in a fire which consumed Kendall's library.

The Jackson collection is very large, extending to a great many hundreds, perhaps thousands, of papers. At the time I examined it, somewhat less than a year ago, the papers had not been calendared, although a calendar was in process of preparation; and the papers were roughly classified by years, arranged in the admirable style with which everyone is familiar, in the Library.

The Van Buren collection is also very extensive. It is, however, only one of two existing collections of Van Buren's papers; another still remains in private hands. This one came to the Library through Mrs. Thompson Van Buren. Neither this collection nor the one still in private hands was used by Mr. Shepard, the author of the biography of Van Buren in the *American Statesmen Series*. The collection which is still in private hands, I understand is inaccessible to students. It is to be hoped that it will eventually pass into the hands of the Library.

The most important portion of both collections is the correspondence. The Jackson papers are evidently fragmentary, there being large gaps in the whole collection. The Van Buren collection is more orderly, having apparently been selected with care by Van Buren himself from the papers he desired to preserve. Of the two collections, the Van Buren collection is far the richer, although there are many Jackson letters in the Van Buren collection and some Van Buren letters in the Jackson collection. The Van Buren collection contains in the neighborhood of three hundred letters, many of them confidential, between Jackson and Van Buren.

In looking over these papers, I noted a few of the subjects to which they relate, and I here suggest a few of the points that will have light thrown upon them whenever these papers shall be made available through publication.

One of the first things that attracted my attention was the bearing of the papers on Jackson's alleged illiteracy and lack of education. It has not been an uncommon charge of Jackson's biographers that he was an unlettered person; that he did not write his own state papers, and that at the best he furnished perhaps ideas and invigoration, but relied upon friends like Kendall, James A. Hamilton of New York, Isaac Hill of New Hampshire, and others to write the papers for him. Jackson's handwriting is unmistakable, and while there are few of his great State papers in either of these collections in his own handwriting, those papers preserved being obviously copies, there are fragments enough to lead me to the conclusion that not only the ideas, but the essential language of all of Jackson's more important papers are his own. He was illiterate, but certainly not uneducated. No more than most men, perhaps, did he always spell correctly. His punctuation is sometimes astray, and as he evidently wrote in a hurry, we find lapses of grammar and rhetoric which would be repaired by revision. But I think the evidence is strong that the essential thoughts and phraseology of his more important writings are distinctly his, and no one's else. I see no reason to believe, from examination of those papers, that his State papers underwent any more or different revision, or were prepared in any different way, than the State papers of most of our Presidents.

The most interesting single paper which I had occasion to note is a document which is filed with the papers of October 1828, but undated. It is unmistakably in Jackson's handwriting, and is headed, "Memorandum of points to be considered in the administration of the government." It bears every evidence of having been written before

Jackson took office as President, though whether or not it should be assigned to October, or to a date subsequent to the election, I cannot determine. The "points" are extremely interesting. They are as follows:

- "1. A strong constitutional Attorney-General.
- "2. A genuine old-fashioned Cabinet, to act together, and form a counsel consultative.
- "3. No solicitors to be appointed.
- "4. No members of Congress, except heads of departments, or foreign ministers to be appointed.
- "5. No foreign minister to be rejected without the Senate, etc.
- "6. The public debt paid, and the tariff modified, and no power usurped over internal improvements.
- "7. A high-minded and enlightened principle in the administration of the government, as to appointments and removals.

"These things will give a brilliant career to the administration."

Some of these "points" are peculiarly interesting, when we recall the things which Jackson did, or sought to do, and the things which he was said to desire to do. We know, for example, that he had difficulty with his Cabinet, and that it was twice reconstructed during his two terms of office. The first Cabinet crisis over the Mrs. Eaton affair has become famous in our annals; yet in one of his letters, April 26, 1829, before his Cabinet was entirely complete, he declares it to be one of the strongest that has ever been in the United States.

Prof. Sumner, in his "Life of Jackson," has, I believe, taken the position that when Jackson dismissed his Cabinet and acted independently of it, he not only did not usurp any authority, but reverted to the original theory of the Cabinet, namely, that the Cabinet was simply a body of heads of departments whom the President might consult if he chose,

but whose suggestions he was in no way bound to follow. In this "Memorandum of points," however, we have Jackson's declaration that he desired a "genuine old-fashioned Cabinet, to act together and form a counsel consultative." What the original theory of the Cabinet was seems to me to be difficult to say, for the reason that, under the Constitution, the Cabinet has no existence as such; but Jackson at the outset evidently regarded it as a body of advisers.

Then we have the wide-spread criticism of Jackson for his appointments and removals. The "memorandum of points" contains certain significant declarations in view of his actual policy. "No solicitors to be appointed" evidently means that none who solicit office shall be appointed; whereas we know that Jackson was hardly installed before almost anybody who solicited an office was appointed, even if someone had just previously solicited it and received it. "No members of Congress except heads of departments and foreign ministers to be appointed." We know that Jackson was charged with appointing more members of Congress to office than any previous President. "A high-minded and enlightened principle in the administration of the government as to appointments and removals." I am unable to find that Jackson expressed any regret for any demoralization in the administrative branch of the government which resulted from the wholesale removals, or from the appointment of unfit men. So far as he expressed himself on that point at all, he seems to have felt that his course was justified.

I came upon a letter of Van Buren's in the collection, in which he states that the appointment of Swartwout as Collector of the Port of New York, was made against Van Buren's decided and earnest remonstrances; and there are other letters that go to show that representations were made to Jackson concerning the unfit character of certain office appointees.

There is also an interesting matter which Jackson several times refers to, namely, his view that a defalcation in accounts or financial irregularity of any sort must debar anyone from the public service. An interesting letter to Van Buren in September, 1829, in reference to Lewis Cass, who, it was rumored, was to be removed from office, states that Jackson had no idea of removing Cass, unless in the settlement of his accounts he should be proven a defaulter, adding, "You know the rule is, friend or foe, being a defaulter must go." There are several other letters in which Jackson makes similar statements. An undated memorandum of March 31, 1829, in reply to a letter from Van Buren, in which Jackson holds that the late removals of comptrollers had been made in the interests of honesty, adds: "The people expect reform; they shall not be disappointed; but it must be judiciously done, and upon principle."

I observed no particular reference to the "great debate" in the Senate between Webster and Hayne. There are, however, a number of letters between Jackson and Hayne referring to the nullification situation in South Carolina; papers which show that Jackson was watching closely the movements in that State, and that there could have been no possible excuse for anyone in South Carolina to have imagined that Jackson would sit quietly by and allow South Carolina to leave the Union without a protest. One very interesting entry is a letter written by Jackson to Joel R. Poinsett, who was the active leader of the Union party in South Carolina at that time, and who kept up a correspondence with Jackson and others at Washington. Writing on the ninth of December, 1832, the day before the great proclamation to South Carolina was issued, Jackson states that in "forty days from the date of my orders," if force should become necessary, "I will have forty thousand men in the State of South Carolina" to put down resistance and enforce law.

There are a number of entries with reference to internal improvements, though they do not make wholly clear Jackson's attitude, which indeed never became quite clear on that subject; and a very interesting entry, in a memorandum to Van Buren, at the time when the negotiations with Great Britain for the removal of duties on the West Indian trade were in progress. We have been commonly told, in accounts of that episode, that Jackson sent a representative to Great Britain to say that conditions had changed in the United States, that there had been a change in public opinion, and that he was prepared to negotiate with Great Britain if Great Britain would meet him half way; and that Great Britain took the proper stand, and the trade was opened. Jackson was willing to negotiate, but took care also to be ready for contingencies. In a communication to Van Buren, April 10, 1830, Jackson directs the latter to "let a communication be prepared for Congress recommending a non-intercourse law between United States and Canada, and a sufficient number of cutters commanded by our naval officers and our midshipmen made revenue officers, and a double set on every vessel." In six months, he concludes, Canada and the West Indies will "sorely feel" the effects of such vigorous action.

The Jackson papers make some additions to our knowledge about the removal of the deposits. Van Buren had written to Jackson to express the hope that he would consult with the Attorney-General about the legality of transferring the deposits. Jackson replies that he has consulted the Attorney-General; and we have Taney's letter assuring Jackson that he is authorized to proceed, and adding: "I am fully prepared to go with you firmly through this business, and to meet all its consequences." The letter is endorsed on the back in Jackson's handwriting: "To be filed with my private papers—as evidence of his virtue, energy and worth."

I have only to add, in closing this very brief allusion to these papers, that the Jackson and Van Buren papers, taken in

connection with the Poinssett papers now in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and the lately published Calhoun correspondence edited by Prof. J. F. Jameson for the American Historical Association, make it possible to re-write much of the history of the Jackson and Van Buren period. I suspect that when this history is re-written, it will be found that most of the older accounts are in need of substantial correction.

A PAGE OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

BY EDWARD H. THOMPSON.

THE field whereon occurred the events which this paper chronicles is the whole Peninsula of Yucatan. The chief actors in these events are the descendants of the indomitable Maya race, that once made this peninsula the centre of a civilization, the descendants of the invading Spaniards who cut short the life of that civilization, and a band of strangers from the North. These last were the type of men that first tamed the wilds of Canada, made known the virgin richness of New England, settled Kentucky, and later drove the wedge of civilization into the unknown West.

At the time these events occurred, that called into play these three factors of humanity, the methods of communication throughout the peninsula were of a mediæval character. Native runners and vaqueros on horseback furnished the only means of rapid communication, while litters, man carried, the saddle, or the strange two-wheeled *volan coche*, drawn by three mules, furnished the means of rapid transit to the fortunate ones who could command such convenience. All others who travelled either went on foot or rode on the springless, brakeless, sideless *carreta*, drawn by six mules, that carried the heavy freight between the larger cities. In those days, many of the larger towns were not connected, even by a wagon road. A narrow, winding mule-path was the only connection with the outside world, and during the long night hours the hoarse cry of the *arrieres*, urging on the pack mules, was constantly heard.

There were revolutions in those days; sometimes, indeed, there were even revolutions within the revolution itself.

But strangely enough, with all this seething and foaming of heated blood and boiling ambition, as if clarified by it, there was evolved a spirit of letters among the cultured minds on the Peninsula, that has never been equalled before or since. Eligio Ancona, the novelist and historian, whose hatred of the Catholic religion was only equalled by his benevolence to some of its strongest adherents, Cresencio Carrillo, Bishop of Yucatan, whose hatred of atheism was only equalled by his benevolence toward some of its followers, Justo Sierra, Asnar Contreras are names of this epoch that still ring clear in Yucatan today.

The white Yucatecon of that day, whether hidalgo or artizan, was no degenerate. As a type he was generous but individually rather slow to arouse, passionate in the mass, hospitable and patriotic, although the patriotism of many was the loyalty to their leaders rather than devotion to the cause. They knew how to fight and they fought well, as the troops from Mexico, when arrayed against them, found out. Thus, man to man, native white against native red, the odds were not unequal. Today Yucatan has rapid trains, telegraph and telephone, well paved streets and all the most advanced ideas of the twentieth century.

Modern Yucatan finds it hard herself to realize that such events as are described herein have taken place within her borders and within the memory of men still living.

During the middle part of the last century, events were taking place in Yucatan that, had they happened in other lands or at other times, would have become subjects of epic poems. But the place of happening was on a distant, ragged edge of the American continent, more unknown, perhaps, to the average American of those times, than is the darkest spot of the Dark Continent to the citizen of today. Then, too, the time of happening was during one of those strange periods of world ferment, when each great nation was busy making its own history and had but little inclination to scan the minor records of its neighbors, near or

distant. Mexico herself was yet panting and heaving with the effects of her own struggles and in no condition to aid, while the United States was in the delirium of the gold fever, and besides, events were gradually shaping themselves that, later, were to lead to the war of the rebellion. Thus it was that when the "Sovereign State of Yucatan" was called upon to witness the death struggle between her white and her red-skinned children, she vainly called upon the outside world for aid and was finally compelled to rely upon such efforts as her patriotic sons could make.

It was during this life and death struggle between the two races that a page of American history became intercalated in the history of Yucatan, and though so saved, yet practically lost. It is the purpose of the writer to restore this page, a stirring record of deeds of valor and bizarre bravery of a band of American citizens, to its proper place in American annals. [That we may see clearly and with understanding read this page, we must have before us a synopsis of the events leading up to the actions that it records.] *omit*

omit From 1506 to 1519, various Spanish adventurers, Solis, Cordoba, Grijalva, and Cortes, had skirted the coasts of Yucatan and had at various times sought to make the land their own. Each time the assembled natives, well drilled, well armed for those times, and well led, received them so sturdily that the adventuresome strangers were very well content to betake themselves to their ships again while they were yet able, the more so as it at last became apparent that the conquest, even when made, offered them but little glory and still less gold, two things greatly sought for by these Castilian adventurers. Finally, in 1527, the hidalgo, Francisco de Montejo, came and spied out the land. By some occult process of reasoning he found it good. He struggled mightily at the task but died before he could prove his reasoning good, and his son took up the task that his father had turned over to him some time previous

to his death. The younger Montejo worked at it diligently, masterfully, as a smith works over refractory metal. The native Mayas were like very refractory metal, but the younger Montejo was like a very clever smith, and he found the flux that enabled him to make them like a molten, plastic mass under his manipulation. Then he kneaded and pounded and pressed them until they were moulded to his liking. To be sure, when he and his immediate successors had called their work well done there were many natives less in the land, but even then the Mayas outnumbered their conquerors by several hundred fold and only stern measures and the memory of merciless reprisals kept the conquered natives down. On the whole they kept them down below the danger mark, but the Maya race of Yucatan was seemingly a far more virile race than the natives of Cuba so quickly exterminated by the Spaniards, and despite their subjugation and the servile condition of even the highest among them, they not only increased in numbers but actually enforced their language upon their conquerors. Today, he who lives in Yucatan, outside the greater cities and cannot speak the native tongue, is like one apart.

* * *

→ Among the Mayas of every province, since the earliest days, there has been one of power and prominence, either by the inheritance of a noble family name or by a force of nature and strong will. When the Spanish laws came into force and being, they left, to such of these Maya chiefs as evinced desires to do the bidding of these laws, a shadowy vestige of their old time power. These men, known then as now among the natives by the native title of *Batab*, were called by the Spaniards for some curious reason by the Haytian term of *Cacique*. *Batab* or *Cacique*, they were obeyed most implicitly by the native people, who were thus by their influence made better citizens and servants. But from this class of natives, born to command and strong in will power, were to come, in later years, the leaders destined

to lead the rebellious natives to many fearful victories over the descendants of the hated white invaders.

At the time of Stephens's famous visit to Yucatan (1839-1841) the native race was still in the sullen apathy of the conquered towards the conquerors. There was an apparent tranquility over all the Peninsula. Travellers could and did journey from Bacalar to Valladolid and from Valladolid to Merida without danger to life and without more discomforts than was incident to the rigors of the sun, the presence of irritating insects and the primitive ways of conveyance. This apparent quiet was not the tranquility of contented prosperity but the sullen constraint, and beneath that deceptive calm was a deep, seething hate that only needed able leaders and a favorable opportunity to find vent and overwhelm the land in a carnage as terrible as that of the Sepoys in Eastern India. Able leaders were ready, planning, scheming, resourceful, patiently biding their time and opportunity.

About fifty miles to the south of Valadolid was (in 1847) the old ranch of Tihum. No one knows its age or origin, and it may well have been a native ranch before the conquest. Great trees were grown up around it, trees that may antedate the Conquest. Neither the Government or the Church had more than a vague knowledge of its existence, and no chapel or cross was ever found within its confines. No one knows what idolatrous rites had taken place within the darkness of its hidden history. Within the safe confines of this ranch, three powerful Caciques of Yucatan, Ay, the Cacique of Chichimila, Cecilio Chid the ferocious, tigerish cacique of Tepich and Jacinto Pat, the astute and able cacique of Tijosuco, together with others of lesser note, plotted and planned. Here, under the dark, noisome shade of the great trees was brewed the venom of the secret rebellion against the white race, a rebellion that was destined to last for half a century and to reduce the population of Yucatan from 531,000 souls in 1847 to 312,000

in 1900. Strange as it may seem, the white population of Yucatan went on their accustomed ways with an incredible sense of security. Although events that should have warned them were not lacking, few or no attempts were made to assuage the many real and some fancied wrongs against the native race. On the contrary, with strange obsession various local magnates by high-handed and arbitrary measures actually seemed to invite the outbreak.

THE WAR OF THE RACES BEGINS.

Don Miguel Rivero, an old planter, living on his plantation "Acambalam," some thirty miles from Valladolid, was a victim to insomnia and was accustomed to take long nocturnal strolls about his plantation. While thus occupied he noted, night after night, large bodies of Indians stealthily passing his ranch, going with the quick native trot, toward Calumpich, the principal ranch and abiding place of Jacinto Pat, the Cacique of Tijosuco. Distrustful of the cause, he sent a faithful native servant to join one of these bands as they passed and learn what it all meant. The servant soon came back and reported that there was to be a great uprising of the Indians all over Yucatan, and that these they saw were carrying provisions and powder and shot to Calumpich to be kept hidden until ready for use. Finding his fears only too well founded, Rivero fled with all his family to Valladolid and there gave his fateful news to the authorities. Even while the authorities were taking the declaration of Rivero an urgent communication came from the judge in the town of Chichimila, the town of which the native Manuel Ay was Cacique, informing them that Manuel Ay, while under the influence of liquor had revealed the fact that a general uprising of the natives was about to take place. With these facts before them the local authorities and the general government acted with great but belated energy. May was arrested and, confessing his part, was at once executed. But the time for the revolution had so nearly

come that when Pat and Chi heard of their fellow conspirator's capture, which they did with marvellous quickness by the means that the natives know so well how to use, "the grapevine telegraph," they at once gave the signal and immediately wails of human suffering and despair rose all over the country. It is useless to go into detail; from now on, burned villages, outraged homes, and bloody work, not wholly on the side of the Indians, make a long and evil list not good to look upon and one that I shall leave with pleasure.

The rebellious natives seemed for a while unconquerable; their savage ferocity and valor seemed irresistible. The long highway from Valladolid to Merida was thronged with constant streams of weary pilgrims striving to reach safety. At times the natives would plunge with the ferocity of demons upon these throngs of panic-stricken pilgrims, and at other times they would most strangely refrain from bloody deeds when they might easily have worked a fiendish will had they so desired. It is supposed that Jacinto Pat, the most humane of the rebellious chiefs, held back his band from useless rapine and slaughter, while Cecilio Chi, a human tiger, lost no time to glut his appetite for outrage and bloodshed. For a time it seemed as if the rebellious natives would indeed make good their threats and drive the white men into the sea. Town after town, city after city, fell by the torch and mace of the triumphant Mayas.

From bleeding Yucatan went up a bitter wail for succor. Commissioners were sent to Mexico, to the United States, and even to the island of Cuba, asking for aid. At last, in very desperation, she was willing to sacrifice her dear bought independence to save her actual existence, and the authorities of the United States were informally consulted on that delicate point, but the opinions given were so unanimously against the probabilities of success on that line that the project was given up.

But while the United States could not and would not interfere in the matter officially, it has been stated by those who were at the time in a position to know, that all possible aid and encouragement, short of actual and direct official aid, was given them in this their hour of need. How much or how little truth there is in this statement is not for me to say at this time, whatever I may discover and make public at a later date. Suffice it now to say that in the year 1847 a well drilled, well armed and perfectly uniformed force of nine hundred and thirty-eight men disembarked at the then port of Sisal, from sailing vessels hailing from New Orleans, and were at once ordered to Merida, where they went into barracks on the site of what is now the Suburban Police Station, at Santiago Square. From there they went, as ordered, to the front, and most of them to their death, for I am told that of the nine hundred and thirty-eight that disembarked at Sisal, only eleven lived to reach the United States.

From now on I shall quote the statements of active participants on both sides of the struggle, statements made to me personally and noted down with great care. Two of the survivors of the Americans, Edward Pinkus and Michael Foster, were yet living in Merida during my remembrance. Of these two, one, Pinrus, has since died and the other, Foster, still lives but with impaired mind. Fortunately, before the one had died and the other had lost his intelligence, I had improved a favorable opportunity and had obtained from them statements as given below.

Edward Pinkus was born, he told me, in Warsaw in 1820; he came to America at an early age and in due time became a full American citizen and an enthusiastic admirer of our American institutions. He was with General Scott throughout the Mexican war. After peace was concluded he returned to the United States, where he lived until summoned by his old officer, Col. White, of the Southern

Rangers, to serve as his adjutant on an expedition against the rebellious Indians of Yucatan. After the Rangers were formally disbanded (death had practically disbanded them some time before), Pinkus, wounded and sick nigh unto death, returned to Merida. There he was tenderly nursed back to life and health by the lady, a native of Merida, whom he afterward married. Afterward he went in and fought against the French by the side of Juarez. When peace was again declared he returned to Merida and started what was then the finest tailoring establishment in the province. He lived to see his sons grow up to be men of influence and respectability in the community. He died in 1904, indirectly from the wounds received in the fights with the Indians. I now give his direct, personal statement:—

"I came over as Adjutant to Col. White, commanding Southern Rangers. Our officers were Col. White, Lieutenant Colonel Linton, Captain Smith and Captain Daws. Captain Daws came over first with two hundred men and Colonel White came over some time after, but Colonel White was in full command. We were in all nine hundred and thirty-eight men and, of all these fighting men, only eleven lived to reach the United States again. Our first fight with the Indians was at Sacalum and they beat us bad, for they fought like devils, but the second time they attacked us, at nine o'clock that same night, we beat them badly. I, with a part of our force was in Tijosuco when it suffered the great siege, and there we lost a great many men and officers. In the battles of Bacalar, in the three battles of Chan Santa Cruz, at Tabi, Peto and, most of all, at Calumpich, we lost most of our men. I was wounded three times. Captain Daws was one of those who lived to return to the States. When I was in San Francisco in 1890 I saw him there. He was short and fat but a good officer and very brave."

Michael Foster, the second and last known survivor of the fighting Americans in Yucatan, was born in Philadelphia in 1823, and is now eighty-two years old. He was,

as he frankly states, of a roving, incorrigible disposition and apparently was given by the authorities the alternative of joining the expedition to Yucatan or going to prison. He enlisted and served with White until the rangers were disbanded, when he married a native of Yucatan by whom he had one son, Carlos Foster, still living.

Michael Foster was, at the time of making his statement, in 1904, clear in intellect but had almost forgotten his native tongue. He spoke the Spanish and the native Maya tongue with far greater facility than he did the English language. His statement is as follows:

"I came to Yucatan with Colonel White. We disembarked at Sisal and then marched on to Merida. There we executed the Cacique of Santiago; he was shot in the yard of the Santiago Police Station where we were in barracks. During the battles of Peto and Ichmul we lost many of our men. At Santa Maria we lost forty-seven and at Tabi thirty-six, but at Calumpich nearly three hundred of our bravest men were killed. The Indians there played us a trick; they made concealed pitfalls in the path and placed sharp pointed stakes at the bottom; then they appeared and dared us to come on; we rushed after them with hurrahs and many of our men fell into the pits; we lost many men that day but we killed a great many more of the Indians than they did of our men. Pinkus and myself are now the only ones left and I guess that we will go soon too. I am over eighty and have lived hard all my life."

General Naverrette, an old Indian fighter of Yucatan, whose scarred body bears witness to his valor, stated to me as follows:

"Colonel White was my friend and so was Captain Daws; both were brave men and strict disciplinarians. The men they commanded were brave men and died valiantly, almost to a man. They suffered their greatest losses at the siege of Tijosuco and the battles of Calumpich."

I will now give the statements of those who actually fought against those men and, right here it may be well to note two interesting facts, that by a curious coincidence make me, perhaps, of all living persons, the only man who could produce these statements. Several years ago, while on an exploration into the then almost unexplored interior, I chanced upon an aged native working his *milpa* alone. I spent some time in the neighborhood investigating a hitherto unknown ruined group, and during a part of this time he worked for me. Being conversant with his language, although a stranger, gave him confidence in me to the extent that he told me his life history. He had been one of the Sublevados and had fought in the battles of Tabi and Ichmul against the white strangers. Afterwards, when the great war chief, Cresencio Poot, was traitorously killed by an under chief, Aniceto Dzul, he, too, fled with other adherents of Poot, in fear of his life. Since then he had lived alone and in constant fear on one hand of the white men and on the other of the Indians. Upon my next return to Merida, I interested the Governor in his story and was to bring him back with me to Merida, guaranteeing him safety and good treatment. But when I went back on my next trip, no traces of him personally could be found, although his gun and his hammock were in their accustomed place. It seems most probable that he was killed, either by some poisonous reptile, a jaguar, or perhaps by some roving band of the Sublevados, his former companions.

The second interesting fact is that Leandro Poot, the younger brother of the former war chief of the rebellious Mayas, is now and has been for several years a dweller upon my plantation of Chichen. We have had many hours of pleasant and interesting conversation and the statement he gives was in this way obtained.

Dionisio Pec, the solitary maker of milpas made his statement as follows, and I have tried as far as was possible to preserve his style of making it in the vernacular.

"Among those who fought us at Ichmul and Tabi were strange white men, 'Dzulob.' They fought like very brave men and caused us many deaths. We had guns and powder from Belize but we had few balls and so we often had to use small stones; also we made balls of red earth, well mixed with honey and hard dried in the sun. These balls made bad wounds and hard to heal. The stranger white men fought close together and for that reason it was easy to kill them. But they were brave men and laughed at death and before they died they killed many of our men."

Statement of Leandro Poot, giving Cresencio Poot's account of the battle with the stranger white men:

"I was then young and not in the councils of those who commanded in those days, but I well remember the tales told me of the strange white men. When the strange white men came up against our people we were perplexed and did not know what to do. Our quarrel was not with them and they spoke the language of Belize, and Belize was not against us, so we waited to see what was meant. Then some of our people who came over to us from the white man's side, told us that these big stranger white men were friends of the white man of T'Ho (Merida) and had come to help him kill us. Then we fought them, but we had rather they had not come, for we only wanted to kill those that had lied to us and had done us great harm, to us and to our families, and even these we had rather send away across the water to where their fathers came from, and where they would cause us no more harm. It is finished. We fought them and we fought the white men from T'Ho and from Sacci (Valladolid) too, and we killed both the stranger white men and the white men from T'Ho and those from Sacci. It was easy to kill the stranger white men, for they were big and fought in line, as if they were marching, while the white men from T'Ho and Sacci fought as we do, lying down and from behind the trees and rocks.

"But these white men were very brave. Their captain was very brave. My brother said he was the bravest man he ever saw. So brave was he that my brother said he very foolishly spared his life once when he could easily

have shot him. My brother admired a brave man, but he said that he was foolish that he did not shoot the captain when he had the chance, for it is a man's duty to kill his enemy. But all the people said that the stranger white men were the bravest men they ever saw. They laughed at death and went toward it with joy, as a young man runs to a handsome woman. When first we met the stranger white men, they had built up, right in our path, a strong fence of thick tree trunks and behind that were the stranger white men and in the woods on each side were the white men from T'Ho and Sacci. Some of the stranger white men were clothed in uniform, the kind they always wore, while others were naked to the waist, with a red cloth tied around their heads and their swords buckled about their waists. Their big bodies were pink and red in the sunlight and from their throats came their strange war cry, Hu-Ha! Hu-Ha! (evidently a Hurrah). They were brave men and shot keenly. Some of them were such good shooters that no man could hope to escape when once they pointed at him; no, whether he ran or walked or crawled, it made no difference unless he could hide behind a tree before the shot was fired, and even then some of those who reached the tree were dead as they fell behind it, for the balls had found them, even as they ran behind it.

"So for a time we greatly feared these strange white men and only sought to keep out of their reach. Had they stayed behind their defences and only used their guns as they could use them, no one knows what might have happened, for our people were so scared of the big, pink-skinned men with their terrible cries and their death shots, that they could not be made to stand up against them. But the stranger white men were too brave, for they threw their lives away, and when they found that we did not come up to them, they jumped over the wall that they had made and came to seek us. We hid behind the trees and rocks, wherever we could, that they might not see us, and so, one by one, we killed them. They killed many of us but we were many times their numbers and so they died. Brave men, very brave. Some died laughing and some with strange words in their own tongue, but none died cowardly. I do not think any escaped. I think they lay where they died, for in those days we had no time to eat or to sleep or to bury the dead."

This can but serve as a simple brief made record of an interesting event gone by. The true record, replete in date and detail, must come later when time and circumstance permit the labor and fulfilment of the perfected work.

HENRY HITCHCOCK.

BY JOHN GREEN.

IN the early autumn of 1848, a serious young man, mature beyond his years, was inducted as assistant teacher in the classical department of the Worcester Classical and English High School, of which Nelson Wheeler was master and William E. Starr was assistant master. His engagement in Worcester was the outcome of a close friendship formed at Yale College with his classmate, Dwight Foster, afterwards Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts and a Councillor of this Society. For a sketch of his earlier life, and for the principal facts and dates in his subsequent career, the writer is indebted to the authors of the excellent Memorial printed in the proceedings of the meeting of lawyers at St. Louis, Missouri, held March 22, 1902.*

“Henry Hitchcock was a great grandson of Ethan Allen, of Revolutionary fame. His paternal grandfather, Samuel Hitchcock, born in Massachusetts, was a member of the Vermont Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution, was Attorney-General of that State and later a United States District Judge and Circuit Judge. His father, Henry Hitchcock, born in Burlington, Vermont, in 1791, removed to Alabama, where, between 1819 and 1839, he was successively Attorney-General, United States District Attorney, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Alabama. Judge Hitchcock married Anne Erwin, of Bedford County, Tennessee. Of that marriage Henry Hitchcock, the subject of this memorial, was born at Spring Hill,

*Through the courtesy of George Collier Hitchcock, Esq., a copy of the proceedings of this meeting, containing an excellent reproduction of a late photograph of Mr. Hitchcock, is presented for preservation in the Library of the Society.

near Mobile, Alabama. His father died in 1839, at Mobile. His mother went with her son to live at Nashville, Tenn. At the age of seventeen, he was graduated from the University of Nashville, and entered Yale College. He was graduated from Yale at nineteen, with honors. His Alma Mater [in 1874] conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws."

For a year he helped to mould the character and develop the rudimentary scholarship of the pupils assigned to his classes in the Worcester High School—made up mainly of those taking courses preparatory for college, including several now officers and members of the American Antiquarian Society. His thoroughness as a teacher, his conscientiousness in the performance of duty, his high ideals, inculcated by word, impressed by example, are remembered by his old pupils. Exceptionally accurate as a student, he felt keenly the discovery of any lapse or shortcoming in the line of his work; but his ingrained honesty excluded conceit, and his acceptance of a new fact or a new conception was unreserved. Not many years ago, in a conversation with the writer, he recalled his first interview with a distinguished member of the Worcester School Committee, the Rev. Seth Sweetser, to whom had been entrusted the congenial task of testing his attainments in mathematics. Dr. Sweetser put the question:—"What do you understand by a minus quantity?" The examiner's definition of a minus quantity as "something to be substracted"** com-mended itself to the quick intelligence of the candidate, and was never forgotten. A too implicit trust in the universality of a rule in prosody once betrayed him into the commission of the scholastic sin of a false quantity, in

*The writer is reminded by a Councillor of this Society that in algebra the signs of addition and subtraction stand for something done, rather than for something to be done. In the text books in general use sixty years ago, the formulation of rules to be committed to memory counted for much more than the enunciation of principles. The writer is indebted to another honored Councillor for the story of the illuminating discovery made, in after years, by an old-time alumnus of the Boston Latin School, that the Latin language was not founded on a code of rules such as he had painfully memorized from the pages of the Latin Grammar of Andrews and Stoddard.

a Roman proper name. A boy of fourteen, ignorant of the rule but relying on a somewhat retentive ear, ventured to call the misplaced accent in question, and was suppressed by a prompt citation from the grammar. Silenced but unconvinced, the boy had recourse to the lexicon, and, producing the newly discovered authority, asked for a rehearing of the case. The error was gracefully acknowledged, and a retraction of the hasty ruling was made to the class at its next meeting. The incident begot a liking for the boy, which ripened later into a lasting friendship; to the boy it revealed the sterling honesty of the teacher, and led up to an enduring trust in the man.*

From Worcester "Mr. Hitchcock returned to his home in Nashville, Tennessee,† and entered upon the study of law in the office of William F. Cooper, afterwards Chancellor and Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee"; two years later he removed to St. Louis, Missouri, where he was admitted to practice.

"In 1852 he was editor of the *St. Louis Intelligencer*, a newspaper of Whig affiliations, and was a delegate to the National Convention at Baltimore, which nominated General Scott for President."

In 1858 he joined the Republican party to which he maintained a steadfast allegiance until his death.

"In 1860, on the eve of the Presidential election, he made his first political speech, advocating the election of Abraham Lincoln." A visit which he had made early in this campaign, to Springfield, Illinois, and the profound impression made on him at the time by the personality of Mr. Lincoln, are said to have afforded the basis in fact for an important chapter of the story entitled 'The Crisis,' by Mr. Winston Churchill.

*This incident of school life was recalled frequently by Mr. Hitchcock in after years; it is mentioned here as an illustration of nobility of character firmly established in youth and exemplified throughout a long and honored career.

†For the principal facts and dates the writer has drawn, in most cases *verbatim*, upon the memorial in which they are reproduced from an earlier sketch printed in a volume entitled "Prominent St. Louisans."

"In February, 1861, he was elected a delegate from St. Louis to the Missouri Convention, called under authority of the Act of the General Assembly, 'To consider the then existing relations between the Government of the United States, the People of the different States, and the Government and People of the State of Missouri; and to adopt such measures for vindicating the sovereignty of the State and the protection of its institutions as shall appear to them to be demanded.'"

"Mr. Hitchcock and only five other members of that Convention were Republicans. He was, from the assembling of the Convention till its final adjournment, an active and potent advocate of 'Unconditional Union,' and of the abolition of slavery in Missouri. On March 13, 1861, he spoke with great force and effect in favor of the State's furnishing men and money to coerce the seceding States. . . . In July, 1861, he voted for the ordinance which declared the offices of Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Secretary of State vacant, and instituted a provisional State Government At the final session of that Convention, in June, 1863, he made an elaborate speech, advocating the emancipation of slaves in Missouri."

"In after years Mr. Hitchcock deplored what he regarded as his mistake in not entering the volunteer service, in 1861. That was his desire; but his friends, and especially his uncle, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, a Major-General of Volunteers, insisted that his value to the cause of the Union would be greater as a member of the State Convention than in the field."

"Mr. Hitchcock once said: 'I reluctantly acted on this advice, but year by year regretted it more, till in September, 1864, before the fall of Atlanta, and when the issue of the war still seemed doubtful, I applied in person to Secretary Stanton for a commission, and obtained one; not in the hope at that late day of rendering military service of any

value, but simply because I could not endure the thought of profiting, in safety at home, by the heroism of others, and of having no personal share in the defence of my country against her enemies in arms.* He was appointed Assistant Adjutant-General of Volunteers, with the rank of Major, and in October, 1864, was assigned to duty on General Sherman's staff, at the latter's request. . . . July 23, 1865, he was honorably mustered out of service."

From 1865 Mr. Hitchcock devoted himself continuously to the law. His career as a lawyer rounded out the full term of fifty years. He rose to the highest rank in the estimation of those best qualified to judge him—his colleagues of the Bar.

"As a lawyer† he achieved a national reputation for ability, learning, integrity, and power. . . . His conceptions of the lawyer's functions and duties were exalted. As a lawyer he was broad, accurate, intense; . . . He was a force in the administration of justice."

"No other man at the bar occupied exactly the same position that Mr. Hitchcock did.‡ He stood for those things which, say what we may, are still held in the very highest estimation by the lawyers as well as by the community at large. He stood for the open and candid and forcible upholding of the right as against the wrong. As a lawyer he stood as an example and exemplification of what a lawyer's life and attitude should be, not merely to the bar, not merely to his clients, but more important still to his country at large and to the community in which he lives."

"As a jurist, Henry Hitchcock was of national reputation.§ He brought to the practice of the law not only a

* These words of Mr. Hitchcock, quoted from the Memorial, recite, practically verbatim, what he said a few days ago to the writer of this sketch. No one who knew Mr. Hitchcock can doubt that his acceptance of a civic career during the critical period in Missouri meant the sacrifice of personal inclination to imperative public duty. The real and continuing danger to which he had so fearlessly exposed himself at home would seem not to have been regarded seriously by him.

†Quoted from the Memorial.

‡Quoted from remarks by Judge Jacob Klein in calling to order the meeting of Lawyers held in St. Louis, March 22, 1902.

§From remarks by Mr. G. A. Finkelnburg, for seven years Mr. Hitchcock's partner in practice, now United States District Judge.

profound knowledge of the law itself, but a wealth of scholarly attainments and literary embellishments rarely found in the busy practitioner of the present day. And with all, and, perhaps, above all, Mr. Hitchcock never failed to remember that one of the highest duties of a lawyer is to aid the courts in a correct and righteous administration of justice. . . . As a citizen, his lofty sentiments, and above all his indomitable courage of conviction, made him one of those heroic characters in our civic and political life which are as rare as they are valuable."

"Mr. Henry Hitchcock* was a lawyer of the type of Pym, and Maynard, and Somers, and Adams, and Jefferson. He devoted himself to his profession, not merely as a business, but as a public duty. . . . Active as he was in his profession, . . . active as he was in the public life of his time, . . . active as he had been during the Civil War and in what led up to it, . . . there never was reproach upon his character. He bore a good repute among men; . . . the repute of respect, which he had even from those to whom he was most earnestly opposed."

"In 1859 he was chosen and to the end of his life continued a Director of Washington University [in St. Louis]. For [fifteen] years, to the time of his death, he was Vice-President [of the Board]."

"In 1867 Mr. Hitchcock took prominent part in founding the St. Louis Law School [the Law Department of Washington University]. He was for the first three years Dean of the School," and for many years a member of its Faculty.

"In 1878, with three other eminent members of the profession, he united in a call for a convention of lawyers at Saratoga, which resulted in the formation of the American Bar Association. . . . In 1880 he was President of the St. Louis Bar Association. . . . In 1881 he was President of the Civil Service Reform Association of Missouri. He was then and until his death a member of the National

*From remarks by Mr. Frederic W. Lehmann, of the St. Louis Bar.

Civil Service Reform League, and was always an earnest worker in the cause of Civil Service Reform. In 1882 he was President of the Missouri Bar Association. From 1889 till the time of his death he was one of the trustees of the Missouri Botanical Garden, appointed by the will of [its founder] Mr. Henry Shaw. In 1889 he was President of the American Bar Association, and in 1901 was chosen one of the Trustees of the National Institution established [at Washington, D. C.] by Andrew Carnegie."

"Mr. Hitchcock's great reputation beyond as well as in Missouri brought him invitations to deliver addresses before many learned bodies. . . . In 1879 [he read a paper] before the American Bar Association on 'The Inviolability of Telegrams'; in 1887, before the New York State Bar Association, on 'American State Constitutions,' and in the same year, before the American Bar Association, upon 'General Corporation Laws'; he delivered an address before the Political Science Association of the University of Michigan on 'The Development of the Constitution of the United States as influenced by Chief Justice Marshall'; at the Centennial Celebration of the Organization of the Federal Judiciary, on 'The Supreme Court and the Constitution;' in 1897, before the National Civil Service Reform League, on 'The Republican Party and Civil Service Reform.'"

Mr. Hitchcock impressed all who came in contact with him as an exceptionally serious and self-contained man. To those who knew him as a young man he appeared shy and reserved. Throughout life he was regarded, even by many who thought they knew him, as cold and unsympathetic. He did not wear his heart upon his sleeve for daws to peck at. Devotion to his life work was the keynote to his character; he sought necessary relaxation in varied reading, which covered the entire domain of the best literature. He kept up his classical studies to the end, and took especial delight in the perfect diction and broad humanity of his favorite poet, Horace.

Integer vitae scelerisque purus

depicts truly the sterling quality of the man who, in the words of his sometime associate in practice,* "carries with him the admiration of all lawyers, the esteem of all good citizens, and the love and affection of those who had an opportunity of associating more intimately with him in his private life."

Odi profanum vulgus et arceo

voices his innate aversion to whatever he regarded as low or unworthy.

*Justum et tenacem propositi virum
non civium ardor prava jubentium,
non vulnus instantis tyranni
mente quatit solida*

describes without exaggeration the "moral courage and fidelity to conviction [of the citizen who] was sure to tread wherever his sense of duty pointed the way";† who "considered and determined his course of action . . . from the standpoint of duty, . . . never stopping to debate, either with himself or with others, the question of whether his advocacy or condemnation of a measure would have an unfavorable effect upon his own interests."‡

It was the privilege of comparatively few to know Mr. Hitchcock intimately in his home life. In the company of a few chosen guests, gathered at his table, he appeared at his best—the affable, courteous and refined gentleman. "With tactful and engaging manner, carrying the conversation and causing all to follow, with the brilliancy of his conversation, roaming from grave to lighter moods, replete with reminiscences and anecdote, with humorous disquisitions upon topics of the day and literature, who would not bear cheerful testimony that he was the incomparable host?"—§

*Beatus procul negotiis.***

*Hon. G. A. Finkelnburg.

†From remarks by Mr. E. H. Kehr, of the St. Louis Bar.

‡Memorial.

§From remarks by Mr. Henry T. Kent, of the St. Louis Bar.

**Mr. Hitchcock contributed a rendition, in English verse, of the second Epopée of Horace, printed, after his death, for the Bibliophile Society of Boston.

The maxim—Whatever is worth doing is worth doing well—was accepted by Mr. Hitchcock as an axiom; it was his constant and sure guide in college; he insisted on it with his pupils in the Worcester High School; it dominated his life. His industry was untiring. He had a remarkably accurate and retentive memory. He was phenomenally quick and sure in grasping facts and principles. His reasoning was clear and convincing. His judgment was not likely to be questioned. He was a fluent and persuasive speaker; a perspicuous, forceful and elegant writer. A patrician by birthright, his natural bent was confirmed by association with men of kindred instincts. He believed in government by the people, but a personal study of the ways of professional politicians early convinced him that they were not for him. A Republican from 1858, he was loyal to the principles and a power in the higher councils of the party. He believed in his party as the exponent of political doctrine, and in public office as a trust. By temperament and training he was eminently fitted for the highest legislative or judicial positions; but in Missouri the judiciary is elective, and his personality was not such as to appeal to party managers. Moreover, he was not of the dominant party in the state at large.

“As a citizen he occupied a position almost unique.* Brave to the uttermost in upholding and defending what he considered right and good in the administration of public affairs, he never wavered in the conscientious performance of every duty which citizenship in a republic imposes on the individual . . . His active participation in political discussions marked the deep rooted sincerity of his nature and convictions, and showed that he considered and determined his course of action . . . from the standpoint of duty, . . . duty to advocate and stand for that which was right, and to oppose and condemn that which was wrong from the standpoint of morals.”

*Quoted from the Memorial.

In 1857, Mr. Hitchcock married Mary Collier, of St. Louis. Mrs. Hitchcock and two sons born of this union, Henry and George Collier, survive him.

Mr. Hitchcock was born on July 3, 1829, and died on March 18, 1902. He was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society in 1882. Engrossing interests with which he had become identified made it impracticable for him to attend its meetings or to contribute to its work.

It was the privilege of the writer to sit under Mr. Hitchcock as a pupil in the Worcester High School, and to know him again as a trusted friend from 1866. The limits of this sketch do not permit an adequate presentation of the man as he was in life and as he lives in memory.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society

1906

ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN WORCESTER

APRIL 26, 1906.



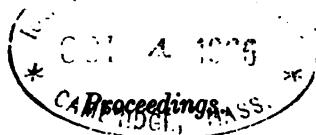
WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.

THE DAY PRESS

1906.

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PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 25, 1906, AT THE HALL OF
THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN BOSTON.

Vice-president HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN of Boston occupied the chair.

The following members were present:

Nathaniel Paine, Samuel A. Green, Edward L. Davis, James F. Hunnewell, Edward H. Hall, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Samuel S. Green, Henry W. Haynes, Andrew McF. Davis, Solomon Lincoln, Daniel Merriman, William B. Weeden, Henry H. Edes, A. George Bullock, G. Stanley Hall, William E. Foster, Charles P. Greenough, Edwin D. Mead, Charles Francis Adams, Francis H. Dewey, Calvin Stebbins, James L. Whitney, George H. Haynes, Waldo Lincoln, John Noble, George P. Winship, Austin S. Garver, Samuel Utley, Edward H. Gilbert, E. Harlow Russell, Benjamin T. Hill, Edward G. Bourne, Anson D. Morse, Deloraine P. Corey, Clarence S. Brigham.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Mr. Edmund M. Barton was chosen as Secretary pro tem.

The report of the Council was read by NATHANIEL PAIN, A. M. It was accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

A Memorial of the late President of the Society, the Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, prepared by Rev. EDWARD E. HALE, D. D., was read by Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN.

The Council presented for election to membership the name of Frederick Lewis Gay, A. B., of Brookline, Massachusetts. A ballot was taken, and Mr. Gay was duly elected.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A. M., reported as follows: "While this ballot is being taken, I would like to take the opportunity to report that as a delegate of the Society appointed in the absence of the other officers from Worcester, by the senior member of the council, I attended the Franklin bi-centenary exercises of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia which covered four days last week. The extent of the preparations was something remarkable, and the expenditure of money was great. Marvellous executive capacity was displayed in all the arrangements, to carry out which the State of Pennsylvania had appropriated twenty thousand dollars. I do not intend, however, to go into the affair in any detail at this time, but simply wished to have it placed in the record that we were represented there, and that every courtesy was extended this Society."

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN called attention to that part of the report of the Council relating to the real estate devised by Mr. SALISBURY. On his motion, the Hon. SOLOMON LINCOLN and Mr. GREEN were appointed a committee to prepare a vote with reference to it.

The Society listened to a paper by Prof. ANSON D. MORSE of Amherst College on "The Principles of Thomas Jefferson." Prefacing his paper, Prof. MORSE said: "All of us have noted that appeal to the principles of Thomas Jefferson is frequently made in support of hostile policies, and it becomes therefore an object of some importance to try to find out what these principles really are. This suggested to me the study and the outline of the results which I wish to lay before you. The study is larger in its material than I had supposed it to be, and the results are less definite

than I hoped that they would be; and I can report, in general, progress rather than dependable conclusions. And I would ask of members of the Society as a special personal favor wherever the method pursued, which will be indicated clearly, and wherever the conclusions indicated, seem to vary from those which you would employ, and those which you yourselves have reached, if you would very kindly let me know of the differences, it will help me in the completion of this study, which I hope in the end to make complete and thorough."

Mr. SOLOMON LINCOLN: "I should like to offer the following vote and I have a word of explanation before I reach it. It relates to the property given to the Society by Mr. Salisbury, and it is obvious that in dealing with real estate, some formal action and vote of the Society will ultimately be necessary; and it is equally obvious that the Society as a body cannot deal with negotiations of purchases and sales. Therefore I offer this vote:

"*Voted*, that the Council have authority to deal with the real estate devised to the Society by its late President, either by way of sale, exchange, or otherwise, and to purchase other real estate with the proceeds of the sale of the devised property if sold; the action of the Council to be ratified by such further and formal action of the Society as may be necessary to perfect the title to any real estate sold or acquired under the provisions of this vote."

After some discussion a vote of the society was taken on the action proposed by Mr. Lincoln, and it was unanimously adopted.

A paper dealing with the ancient customs and beliefs of the time of Columbus, was prepared and presented by Prof. EDWARD G. BOURNE, of Yale University.

Mr. ANDREW McF. DAVIS: "I should like to ask Prof. Bourne whether in the account of the arrival of the clothed strangers, there was either any intimation of where they came

from, or any description of the clothing which they wore, or whether they arrived by sea. That would probably be so, but whether there was any distinct evidence in the tradition of the method of their arrival?"

Prof. BOURNE: "Apparently not. I read all there was. It is possible the story might have originated through some stray vessel of some Central Americans, who were clothed, coming to the island, and that may have given the start to it."

Mr. DAVIS: "The question might arise whether it was connected with the various traditions relative to the arrival of clothed strangers running all through the accounts of the Indians of North America, given by priests and travellers. In studying those things, we have to consider first the influence of the white man on the traditions, and second, the influence of the writer himself, on the story which he records. Obviously, there are many reasons why the Spaniard should distort and falsify events, but here you are getting back behind all possible influence by whites upon events, and here you have nothing to deal with but the writer himself. Everywhere in the Northwest, even up in the neighborhood of Hudson's Bay there were stories current of the arrival from the west of strangers in curious clothes. The accounts of the Indians were necessarily ambiguous as to where this event took place. From some of them it might be inferred that it was the Great Salt Lake. From others that it was the Gulf of California—or perhaps the Oregon Coast. These stories I collated in my discussion of the Journey of Moncacht-Apé which I read before this Society April 25, 1883. Even though we do not find any direct connection between these stories and the book referred to by Prof. Bourne, even though they are widely different, there is a possible foundation for the whole upon the same basis; this may be the same tradition that is found among all our Northern Indians,

of the arrival of foreigners upon the coast, which you run across even up to Hudson's Bay."

Mr. WILLIAM E. FOSTER, of Providence, R. I., read a paper entitled, "The Point of View of History."

Mr. GEORGE P. WINSHIP, of Providence, in connection with Mr. Foster's paper, read some extracts from the correspondence of Mr. William Palfrey, who in 1762 was clerk in a store in Boston.

The meeting was dissolved, and many of the members repaired to the Hotel Somerset for luncheon.

Attest: EDMUND M. BARTON,
Recording Secretary pro tempore.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

As provided by the by-laws, the Council of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits its semi-annual report for the six months ending April 23, 1906.

Since the last meeting of the Society, we have sustained a great loss in the death of our honored President Stephen Salisbury, who, after a brief illness, died at his home in Worcester, November 16, 1905.

He was apparently in his usual good health at the time of our annual meeting the last of October, and he entertained the members at his home in his customary hospitable manner. A special meeting of the Council was at once called at which appropriate eulogistic remarks were made by Vice-President Green and other members present, which have been printed and sent to our members.

The Council suggests that it would be most fitting that some permanent memorial of our late President should be placed in our building, perhaps a bust, medallion, or a portrait in oil, thus showing our recognition of his valuable services to the Society.

Ever since Mr. Salisbury became the President of the Society, he has taken the most active interest in its affairs and was familiar with all details of its management, and by those who have been most intimately connected with him in its administration, his loss is most keenly felt. That the future of the Society and its welfare was in his mind is manifested by his generous remembrance of it in his will. The following extracts from that document are given in order to place on record this substantial evidence of his thoughtful and practical interest in the future of our Society.

"10. I give and bequeath to the American Antiquarian Society, the estate upon Lincoln Square, known as the Salisbury Mansion Estate, containing some twenty-four thousand four hundred and fifty (24,450) square feet of land to be used by the said Society as the location of a new library building, or in such manner as may best further the purpose of the library and collections.

"11. I give and bequeath to the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, all my books, all of my private library and the Greek and Maya antiquities collected by me, and those now deposited in cases in the Antiquarian Hall, the furniture previously loaned to the Society and the sum of Two hundred thousand (200,000) dollars."

The library of Mr. Salisbury now in process of removal to our Hall will add several hundred volumes to our collections and it is quite probable that many may prove duplicates of those now on our shelves. Owing to the present crowded condition of the alcoves it may be considered advisable to authorize the Library Committee to sell or exchange such duplicates, where they are not of special antiquarian or historical value.

This question of the disposition of the duplicate material in our present building is fast becoming a matter for serious consideration and more discrimination must be used in the future and only volumes of special interest and value purchased. The additional room leased by the Council on Sumner street for the storage of newspapers not often called for is now about full and the need of additional space to properly care for our rapidly increasing treasures will soon become apparent.

The Council would call special attention to our valuable collection of manuscripts and recommend that a competent person be employed to arrange, classify and catalogue them. Our late President was much impressed with the importance of this and had expressed himself in favor of such a course, as has also our associate J. Franklin Jameson of the Carnegie Institution, who expressed his willingness to aid in any way in his power. It seems quite probable that a great deal

of valuable historical matter would be brought to light as a result of such action, some part of which should be printed by the Society. At any rate it would seem worth while to appoint a committee to investigate this department and report to the Council the result of such investigation. Notwithstanding this part of the Society's collection is not yet catalogued some use of it has been made by historical students, but a good catalogue would not only make it of more practical value to such students, but add to the reputation of the Society as a place for study and research. William Lincoln made a report for the Council in 1830 in which he refers to the Society's manuscripts as being rare and curious, and urges members to explore their garrets in search of old papers to add to the collection, the response to which undoubtedly added many valuable manuscripts.

The Society has already published from the manuscripts in their possession:

“The Diaries of John Hull, Mint-Master and Treasurer of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay,” with a memoir by Samuel Jennison and notes by Edward E. Hale. *Archæologia Americana*, Vol. III

“A Short Discourse of a Voyage made in ye years of our Lord 1613 to ye late discovered Countrye of Greenland; and a breife discription of ye same countrie, and ye Comodities yer raised to ye Aduenturers.”

This was published by the Antiquarian Society in Vol. IV. of *Archæologia Americana*, with an introduction and notes by Samuel F. Haven. Fifty copies were also printed in separate form.

“Note-Book kept by Thomas Lechford, Esq., Lawyer, in Boston, Massachusetts Bay, from June 27, 1638, to July 29, 1641.” Edited by Edward Everett Hale, Jr. With a sketch of the life of Lechford by J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D. *Archæologia Americana*, Vol. VII.

“The Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, 1829-1835, with an introduction and notes by Nathaniel Paine, A.M.,” Worcester, 1901.

The diary of our first president, Isaiah Thomas, is in process of publication, one volume being already in print, and it is expected that the material for the second volume will soon be in the hands of the printer.

Attention is called to the fact that Mrs. Reynolds our Librarian's assistant has prepared for the Alabama Depart-

ment of Archives and History, a list of the newspapers printed in the states of Alabama, Mississippi and Tennessee, which list has been printed in the Gulf States Historical Magazine. As this list is not likely to come to the notice of many of our members it is suggested that it be printed with the "Proceedings" for their benefit.¹

The Collection, and Research Fund, so termed since April 1858, founded by the receipt of \$5000 from the estate of Isaiah Thomas and now amounting to over \$16,000, was given for the purpose of using the income in exploring ancient monuments of this country and to aid in increasing the library and cabinet. It is suggested that as but little of the income has been used in the past for the study and exploration of ancient monuments an appropriation might be made for a special paper to become a part of another volume of the *Archæologia Americana*.

Reports of the Treasurer and Librarian are now presented only at the Annual Meeting but the Council report both these departments to be in good condition at this time, and that there have been large additions to the library and cabinet. The general appearance of the interior of our building has been greatly improved within the last six months by judicious cleaning and painting by our new janitor.

As the real estate bequeathed to the Society by Mr. Salisbury came into its legal possession immediately after the probating of the will, the income derived therefrom, amounting to about \$365 on the first of April, has been credited to the Society by the Executors. This income for the year from the property as it is now rented will amount to a little less than \$1000 out of which the taxes and running expenses must be deducted. The Salisbury Mansion lot contains 24,450 square feet and is assessed for about \$37,000. While a valuable property, it is not, on account of its location, adapted for building purposes for the Society and it should

¹This list is given at the close of the report of the Council.

either be sold or exchanged for land more favorably located for our uses. This matter might be put into the hands of our Finance Committee with power to act, if thought expedient by the Society.

The death of our President caused a vacancy on the Library Committee which has been filled by the appointment of MR. WALDO LINCOLN.

Besides that of the President the Council regrets to announce the death of James D. Butler, LL. D., of Madison, Wisconsin, who died November 20, 1905 at the age of 91 years, and of Samuel P. Langley, D. C. L., of Washington, D. C., who died at Aiken, S. C., February 27, 1906, notices of whom will be presented by our biographer.

By the original Act of Incorporation of the Antiquarian Society, which was approved by Gov. Caleb Strong, October 24, 1812, it was provided "that the annual income of any real estate by said Society holden, shall never exceed the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, and that the personal estate thereof, exclusive of books, papers and articles in the Museum of said Society, shall never exceed the value of seven thousand dollars."

In February, 1894, by request of the Society, the following amendment was made to its Act of incorporation:

An act to authorize the American Antiquarian Society to hold additional real and personal estate.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

Section 1. The American Antiquarian Society is hereby authorized to hold real and personal estate, in addition to books, papers and articles in its cabinet, to an amount not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars.

Section 2. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

Approved February 26, 1894.

This act made legal the holding of property heretofore acquired and also provided for expected additions.

Since the passage of this amendment a general law has been enacted: "Revised Laws, Chapter 125, Section 8,"

which provides that "Any corporation organized under general or special laws for any of the purposes mentioned in Section 2 . . . (Educational, Charitable, Antiquarian, Historical, Literary or Scientific) may hold real and personal estate to an amount not exceeding one million five hundred thousand dollars"

For the Council,

NATHANIEL PAINE.

NEWSPAPER FILES.

ALABAMA, MISSISSIPPI AND TENNESSEE NEWSPAPER FILES
IN THE LIBRARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY, WORCESTER, MASS.

BLAKELEY.

THE BLAKELEY SUN, and ALABAMA ADVERTISER. s. w.
Mar. 23, 30, 1819.

CAHAWBA.

ALABAMA STATE GAZETTE. w. Apr. 28, May 12, 1825.
CAHAWBA PRESS and ALABAMA INTELLIGENCER. w. July 17, 1819;
July 15, 1820.
CAHAWBA PRESS and ALABAMA STATE INTELLIGENCER. w.
Mar. 19, May 14, 1825.

CLAIBORNE.

ALABAMA COURIER. Mar. 19, Apr. 9, July 9, Aug. 20, 1819.
CLAIBORNE GAZETTE. w. Mar. 19, 1825.

DECATUR.

SOUTHERN METEOR. Vol. 2, No. 2, Apr. 1878.

EUFALIA.

THE EUFALIA NEWS. Feb. 11, 1868.

GADSDEN.

STIFF'S RADICAL REFORMER. w. Dec. 4, 1853-Jan. 21, 1854.
merged into the
RADICAL REFORMER. w. Feb. 25, Mar. 4, 1854.

HUNTSVILLE.

HUNTSVILLE DAILY INDEPENDENT. July 11, 1867.

ALABAMA REPUBLICAN. w. Apr. 18, 1818; Apr. 3, 1819.

MARION.

THE HOWARD COLLEGIAN. m. Aug. 1881.

MARION JUNCTION.

THE PRESS. Vol. 1, No. 2, Apr. '76 (amateur) 32°.

MOBILE.

MOBILE LITERARY GAZETTE. w. Devoted to Literature, Science,
Morality, and General Intelligence. Aug. 9, 1839.

THE MOBILE MERCANTILE ADVERTISER. s. w. Dec. 18, 22, 1835;
Jan. 5, 29, 1836.

THE WEEKLY MERCURY. Nov. 27, 1865.

MOBILE EVENING NEWS. July 2, 1862; Aug. 20, 1863; May 28,
June 10, 1864.

MOBILE EVENING NEWS (Railroad Edition—3 p. m.) d. Sunday excepted. July 10, 15, 16, 18, 1862; Aug. 12, Oct. 8, 22, 1864.

MOBILE MORNING NEWS. May 27, 1865.

MOBILE ADVERTISER AND REGISTER. d. t. w. and w. June 16, July 10, 1862; Feb. 14, July 27, 31, Aug. 3, 13, Sept. 18, Oct. 16, 21, 22, 25, 26, 1864.

MOBILE COMMERCIAL REGISTER. w. May 12, 19, 26, 1832.

MOBILE COMMERCIAL REGISTER AND PATRIOT. s. w. Dec. 7, 1832-Mar. 21, 1835. 1 vol.

MOBILE DAILY COMMERCIAL REGISTER AND PATRIOT. Sept. 7, 1839.

THE DAILY REGISTER. dem. est. 1821. Sept. 1, 1886; Sept. 1, 1887.

MOBILE EVENING TELEGRAPH. June 2, 1862; June 8, Nov. 17, 1864.

MOBILE DAILY TIMES. Published morning and evening. Nov. 21, 1865.

MOBILE DAILY TRIBUNE. Mar. 8, 1861; June 29, July 8, 1862; June 5, July 13, Aug. 7, 14, 17, 21, Oct. 23, 1864; Apr. 7, 10, 1868.

MONTGOMERY.

ADVERTISER AND STATE GAZETTE. Nov. 24, 1852.

MONTGOMERY DAILY ADVERTISER. July 9, 1862; Feb. 18, 23, 24, Mar. 1, 16, 1864.

PLANTER'S GAZETTE. est. 1830. Apr. 27, 1830; Jan. 3, 1832.

MONTGOMERY REPUBLICAN. w. Apr. 29, 1825.

STATE SENTINEL—Extra. (Daily State Sentinel. 1867.)

SELMA.

THE DAILY MISSISSIPPINIAN. Aug. 29, 1863.

TUSCALOOSA.

TUSCALOOSA GAZETTE. w. Oct. 17, 1878.

ALABAMA INTELLIGENCER AND STATE RIGHTS EXPOSITOR. Dec. 5, 1835.

THE METEOR. Vol. 1, No. 1, 1872; Vol. 2, No. 6, Oct. 1873; Vol. 4, No. 16, Apr., 1876.

SPIRIT OF THE AGE. w. May 23, 1832.

STATE RIGHTS EXPOSITOR AND SPIRIT OF THE AGE. Sept. 14, 1832.

UNION SPRINGS.

UNION SPRINGS TIMES. w. Feb. 20, 1867.

MISSISSIPPI.

CANTON.

CANTON HERALD. w. May 30, 1838.

CARROLLTON.

MISSISSIPPI DEMOCRAT. w. Dec. 22, 1848.

CHARLESTON.

THE TALLAHATCHIAN. w. Feb. 16, 1867.

CORINTH.

THE YOUNG READER. Mar. 15, 1877 (amateur) 8°.

HOLLY SPRINGS

THE MISSISSIPPI TIMES. Jan. 18, Feb. 1, Apr. 20, 1854.

HUNTSVILLE. (Mississippi Territory, now in Alabama.)

MADISON GAZETTE. w. Oct. 19, 1813

JACKSON.

THE DAILY MISSISSIPPIAN. June 20, 21, July 5, 1862.

MERIDIAN.

THE DAILY CLARION. Aug. 30, 1863.

NATCHES.

THE WEEKLY CHRONICLE. July 6, Sept. 7, Oct. 12, Nov. 2, 16, Dec. 14, 28, 1808; Jan. 11, 25, Feb. 22, Mar. 1, Apr. 5, May 6, 13, June 3, 17, 1809; May 28, June 25, July 2, 16, Aug. 13, 27, Sept. 10, Oct. 8, Nov. 5, 12, Dec. 31, 1810. Jan. 7, 21, 28, Feb. 11, Mar. 4, Apr. 8, 1811.

SOUTHERN GALAXY. w. June 12, Dec. 13, 1823.

NATCHES GAZETTE. s. w. and w. Aug. 5, 10, 17, 26, 31, Sept. 2, 7, 9, 14, 1808; July 28, 1813.

THE NATCHES GAZETTE AND MISSISSIPPI GENERAL ADVERTISER. w. June 20, 27, July 4, Aug. 1, 15, 22, Sept. 5, 26, Oct. 10, 31, Nov. 14, Dec. 26, 1811; Jan. 9, Feb. 13, Mar. 5, 26, Apr. 2, May 7, 1812.

MISSISSIPPI HERALD AND NATCHES CITY GAZETTE. Jan. 14, 21, 1803; May 19, 23, 28, 30, 1804.

MISSISSIPPI HERALD AND NATCHES GAZETTE. Mar. 25, 1807.

MISSISSIPPI HERALD AND NATCHES REPOSITORY. July 18, 1803.

THE MISSISSIPPI MESSENGER. w. Sept. 7, Oct. 12, 19, 26, Nov. 2, 9, 23, 30, 1804; Jan. 18, 25, Feb. 8, Mar. 15, 29, Apr. 26, June 7, July 19, Aug. 16, 30, Sept. 6, Oct. 29, Nov. 5, 1805; June 2, 16, July 7, 14, Sept. 22, Nov. 26, 1807; Mar. 24, July 7, 1808.

THE MISSISSIPPIAN. w. Dec. 22, 29, 1808; Jan. 19, Feb. 2, Mar. 9, 16, 23, May 1, 15, 29, Aug. 14, 1809; May 14, June 4, Aug. 20, 27, Sept. 10, 1810.

MISSISSIPPI REPUBLICAN. w. Apr. 23, May 20, 1812; Oct. 20, 1813; Jan. 26, 1814; May 24, 1815; Apr. 9, 1818; Mar. 23, 1819.

THE WASHINGTON REPUBLICAN AND NATCHES INTELLIGENCER. w. July 31, Sept. 11, 1816; June 14, 1817.

SHIP ISLAND.

NEWS LETTER. Extra. May 2, 1862. (amateur) 8°

VICKSBURG.

THE DAILY CITIZEN. July 2, 1863. (The last newspaper published in Vicksburg, Mississippi, on the day previous to the surrender of the Confederate forces under General Pemberton, to the Union forces under General Grant.)

VICKSBURG REGISTER. d. and w. Jan. 2, 1828; Dec. 17, 1835.

VICKSBURG REPUBLICAN. s. w. and w. June 12, 25, 28, July 9, 12, 16, 18, 26, 30, Aug. 2, 9, 13, 20, 23, 27, 30, Sept. 3, 6, 10, 13, 17, 20, 24, Dec. 31, 1867; Jan. 14, Mar. 31, 1868.

TENNESSEE.

ATHENS.

THE ATHENS REPUBLICAN. w. July 12, 26, Sept. 13, 27, 1867.
THE WATCHMAN. July 9, 1842.

BRISTOL.

BRISTOL GAZETTE. w. Mar. 24, 1864.

CARTHAGE.

CARTHAGE GAZETTE. w. Aug. 13, 1808; Aug. 20, 1816; July 1, 1817.
WESTERN EXPRESS. w. Nov. 21, 1803.

CHATTANOOGA.

"JUSTICE." w. Dec. 24, 1887.
THE CHATTANOOGA DAILY REBEL. Dec. 17, 1862.
CHATTANOOGA REPUBLICAN. w. Apr. 13, 1890.
THE TRADESMAN. Aug. 1, 15, Sept. 15, Oct. 1, Dec. 15, 1881; Aug. 1, 15, Sept. 1, 15, Oct. 1, 1882.

CLARKSVILLE.

UNITED STATES HERALD. Aug. 11, 1810.

CLINTON.

CLINTON GAZETTE. w. Mar. 30, 1888.

COLUMBIA.

THE DIXIE FARMER. May 28, 1868.
COLUMBIA HERALD. w. May 12, 1866.

DRESDEN.

TENNESSEE PATRIOT. w. Oct. 16, 1839.

FAYETTEVILLE.

STANDARD OF THE UNION. Nov. 3, 1837.

GREENVILLE.

AMERICAN ECONOMIST AND EAST TENNESSEE STATESMAN. w.
Apr. 30, 1825.

JONESBOROUGH.

THE UNION FLAG. (Extra.) Feb. 18, 1870.

KNOXVILLE.

THE SOUTHERN CITIZEN. w. June 3, 1858.
THE ENQUIRER. w. Mar. 12, May 7, June 25, July 16, Aug. 6,
20, Sept. 24, Oct. 8, 22, 29, 1828.
KNOXVILLE GAZETTE. w. Dec. 7, 1793; July 31, 1794; Apr. 24,
July 17, Oct. 23, Nov. 20, Dec. 4, 1795; May 2, 1796.
WILSON'S KNOXVILLE GAZETTE. June 22, 1808.
KNOXVILLE REGISTER. w. Sept. 7, 21, 1816; May 4, 1819; Feb.
11, 18, 25, Mar. 4, 1825; Aug. 1, 1832; Nov. 17, 1859.
THE KNOXVILLE TRIBUNE. d. and w. Nov. 25, 1888; Aug. 16,
1896.
WESTERN CENTINEL. w. Mar. 11, 1809; June 30, July 14, Sept.
8, 1810.
BROWNLOW'S KNOXVILLE WHIG. w. Dec. 19, 1866.

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE.

THE AURORA. m. Apr., 1890.

LAWRENCEBURG.

LAWRENCEBURG PRESS. w. June 7, 1882-Aug. 2, 1882, Aug. 16-July 18, 1883; Aug. 1, 1883-Aug. 21, 1884; Sept. 4, Oct. 16, Oct. 30, Nov. 13-Dec. 18, 1884; Jan. 8, 1885-Mar. 12, Mar. 26-May 7, May 21-July 23, Aug. 27, Sept. 10-Sept. 24, Oct. 15, Oct. 22, Nov. 5, 1885.

LOUDON.

THE REPUBLICAN FARMER. Nov. 10, 1881.

MARYVILLE.

THE EAST TENNESSEAN. Oct. 26, 1855.

MEMPHIS.

THE MEMPHIS DAILY APPEAL. June 21, 1862.

THE DAILY MEMPHIS AVALANCHE. Sept. 1, 1882; July 28, 1887.

MEMPHIS BULLETIN. w. Feb. 24, 1860.

THE CHICKASAW. May 1, 1878. (amateur) 12°.

MEMPHIS MORNING POST. d. Jan 28, 1866.

MEMPHIS PRICE CURRENT. w. Mar. 2, 1861.

THE TIDAL WAVE. Apr., 1878. (amateur) 12°.

VOICE OF TRUTH. Apr. 6, 13, 1878.

M'MINNVILLE.

MOUNTAIN ECHO. w. Jan. 5, 1816.

NASHVILLE.

THE DAILY AMERICAN. Oct. 5, 1876.

NATIONAL BANNER. w. Jan. 13, 1826; July 18, 25, Aug. 1, 22, 29, Sept. 5, 17, Oct. 31, 1829.

THE NATIONAL BANNER AND NASHVILLE WHIG. w. Aug. 11, 18, Sept. 22, 29, Nov. 10, 24, Dec. 8, 29, 1827; Jan. 5, 19, Feb. 2, 16, 23, Mar. 8, 22, Apr. 19, 26, May 3, 10, 23, June 7, July 11, Aug. 9, 16, 30, Sept. 6, 20, Oct. 4, 18, 25, 1828; Mar. 25, 1831. continued as:

REPUBLICAN BANNER. d. Feb. 18, 1866.

THE TENNESSEE BAPTIST. w. Aug. 9, 1851; Mar. 10, 1855.

THE CLARION. w. Feb. 16, Mar. 8, 1808.

THE DEMOCRATIC CLARION AND TENNESSEE GAZETTE. w. Aug. 10, Sept. 21, 1810.

THE CLARION AND TENNESSEE GAZETTE. w. Feb. 16, Apr. 6, 1813.

THE NASHVILLE CLARION. w. Feb. 28, Mar. 7, 1821.

NASHVILLE EXAMINER. w. Sept. 29, Oct. 20, Nov. 3, 10, 24, 1813; May 4, 25, 1814.

THE TENNESSEE GAZETTE. w. Aug. 26, 1801.

TENNESSEE GAZETTE, AND MERO DISTRICT ADVERTISER. June 13, July 20, 1804.

SOUTHERN LUMBERMAN. s. m. Aug. 15, Sept. 15, Oct. 2, 1882.

NASHVILLE REPUBLICAN. w. Nov. 6, 1824.

NASHVILLE REPUBLICAN AND STATE GAZETTE. Oct. 27, 1830.

IMPARTIAL REVIEW AND CUMBERLAND REPOSITORY. w. Jan. 18, 25, Feb. 8, Aug. 16, 1806.

THE REVIEW. w. Nov. 10, 24, Dec. 1, 15, 29, 1809; Jan. 11, 18, Feb. 2, 23, Mar. 30, Apr. 6, 27, June 1, 8, 29, July 6, 27, Aug. 10, 31, Sept. 14, 21, Oct. 5, 12, 26, Nov. 16, Dec. 7, 14, 1810.

WEEKLY UNION AND AMERICAN. w. May 21, 1860.

THE NASHVILLE DAILY UNION. May 27, July 26, 1862.

THE NASHVILLE WHIG. Mar. 8, 1814.

NASHVILLE, TENN., AND LOUISVILLE, KY.

NASHVILLE AND LOUISVILLE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE. w.
Mar. 29, 1850; Nov. 30, 1854.

PARIS.

PARIS REPUBLIC. June 9, 1854.

PULASKI.

TENNESSEE BEACON AND FARMERS' ADVOCATE. w. June 23, 1832

SHERWOOD.

THE HELPING HAND. m. Dec. 1885; Feb., July, Sept., Oct., 1886.
Jan., Oct., Dec., 1887; Mar. May, June, 1888.

**REMARKS ON THE EARLY AMERICAN
ENGRAVINGS AND THE CAMBRIDGE
PRESS IMPRINTS (1640-1692)**

In the Library of the American Antiquarian Society.

BY NATHANIEL PAINE.

“A Descriptive Catalogue of an Exhibition of Early Engravings in America,” given at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in the winter of 1904-5, suggested to the writer an examination of the engravings hanging on the walls of Antiquarian Hall at Worcester. As a result of this examination it was found that over two hundred engravings, lithographs and other works of a similar nature were suspended from the walls and alcoves, some of which were of more than ordinary interest, and it is proposed to call attention to a few of these which are of special value on account of their rarity. Of these perhaps the most interesting are the mezzotint portraits of four Indian chiefs engraved by J. Simon.

The late John R. Bartlett in a notice of these prints gives the name of the engraver as John Simmonds, but the name on the prints is very clearly J. Simon. There was a John Simon who came to London in the reign of Queen Anne, who was an engraver of some merit and may have engraved them, but in the only biographical notice of him that has come to my notice no mention is made of these prints. It was in 1710 that Major Peter Schuyler took four Indian chiefs to England where they created quite a sensation. They were received with great ceremonies by the Queen

and the Indians presented her with a set of wampum. The original paintings were said to have been painted for the Queen.

The engravings were published by subscription in November, 1710, and are now quite rare.

Those owned by the Society are in good condition and are as follows, all having the imprint:

J Verelst, Pinx. and J Simon, Fecit.

Printed & sold by John King at ye Globe in ye Poultry, London. (Size of plates 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Ron
Emperour of the Six Nations
Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth Ton
King of the Maquas
Ho Nee Yeath Tan No Ron
King of the Generethgarich
Eton Oh Koam
King of the River Nation

Another series of mezzotints are nine engraved by Peter Pelham (born in England in 1684) who came to Boston in 1726-1727 and died there in 1751. His principal work was in the mezzotint style and he engraved a large number of portraits of men of celebrity. Among them one of Charles the First after Kneller, Peter Paul Rubens, Oliver Cromwell and others of like note.

Pelham was the earliest mezzotint engraver in New England, he was also a painter, and one of his portraits, that of Cotton Mather, is in the hall of the Antiquarian Society. The first mezzotint engraving made in New England was without doubt Pelham's print from the Mather portrait. From the following advertisement in "The Boston Gazette and Weekly Journal" of Tuesday, September 20, 1748, it appears that he had other occupations than that of painter or engraver.

"Mr. Pelham's Writing and Arithmetick School, near the Town House (during the Winter) will be open from Candle Light till nine in the Evening as usual, for the benefit of those Employ'd in Business all the Day: and at his Dwelling House near the Quaker Meeting in Lindell's Row. All Persons may be supplied with the best Virginia Tobacco, cut, spun into the best Pigtail, and all other sorts, also Snuff at the cheapest Rates."

In another issue of the Gazette of an earlier date he announces:

"At Mr. Pelham's House near the Town Dock is to be sold sundry sorts of Household Goods (for Cash) very Cheap, he having Intention to break up Housekeeping. N. B. Attendance will be given from Eight till Twelve o'clock every morning, but not after that Hour on account of his preparing for his School in the Afternoon, which continues to keep as heretofore."

Pelham married in 1748 Mrs. Mary Singleton, widow of Richard Copley, and her son John Singleton Copley, the eminent portrait painter resided with her.

In the "Boston News Letter" for September 17th. 1751, Pelham advertises the print of Thomas Hollis.

"To be sold, at his home near the Quaker Meeting House, a print in Mezzotinting of Thomas Hollis, late of London, Merchant, done from a curious whole length Picture by Joseph Highmore in London, and placed in the College Hall in Cambridge. Also sundry other Prints at said Pelham's."

In the exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts about twenty of his portraits were on exhibition; of these the American Antiquarian Society has the following:

The Reverend Charles Brockwell. A: M. | Late of Catharine Hall in Cambridge, his Majesties Chaplain in Boston N: E. | P. Pelham pinx: et fecit 1750 — Sold by P: Pelham in Boston — |

Mather Byles A. M. et V: D. M. | Ecclesiae apud Bostonum Nov-Anglorum Pastor. | P. Pelham ad vivum pinx. & fecit. |

The Reverend Henry Caner. A: M. | — Minister of Kings Chapel Boston.— | J: Smibert pinx: — P: Pelham fecit. 1750 — Sold by P: Pelham in Boston. |

The Reverend Benjamin Colman D. D. | J. Smibert Pinx. — P. Pelham Fecit. | 1735. |

The Reverend Timothy Cutler. D. D. | — of Christ Church Boston N-E. | P. Pelham pinx: et fecit. 1750. —— Sold by P: Pelham in Boston— |

Thomas Hollis late of London Mercht. a most generous Benefactor | to Harvard College, in N. E. having founded two Professorships and ten | Scholarships in the said College, given a fine Apparatus for Experimental | Philosophy, & increased the Library with a large Number of valuable Books &c. | Jos. Highmore pinx. 1722. —— Ob: 1731. Et. 71. —— P: Pelham ab origin: fecit et excudit. 1751. |

Sir William Pepperrell Bart, Colonel of one of his Majesty's Regiments — | of Foot, who was Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of the American — | Forces Employ'd in the Expedition against the Island of Cape Breton which was | happily Reduced to the Obedience of his Britanick Majesty June the 17, 1745— | J: Smibert Pinx: | . . . | P: Pelham fecit et ex.: 1747. |

Jno: Greenwood Pinx. —— P. Pelham fecit. | Thomas Prince A. M. | Quintus Ecclesiae Australis Bostonii Novanglorum Pastor, e Collegii Harvardini | Cantabrigiae Curatoribus, Samuelis Armigeri Filius et Thomae AM. denati Pater | Printed for & Sold by J. Buck, at ye Spectacles in Queen-street Boston. 1750. |

The Reverend Joseph Sewall D. D. | J. Smibert, Pinx. —— P. Pelham Fecit. |

Other Pelham prints on exhibition at the Art Museum were portraits of Cotton Mather, Rev. William Hooper, Thomas Prince, Gov. William Shirley and Rev. John Moorhead.

Mr. Frederick L. Gay of Brookline has had twelve of the Pelham prints reproduced in fac-simile, (only sixty of each being printed) for private distribution, and all were marked as issued by the Pelham Club to indicate that they were not originals.

Another engraving of great interest and rarity is entitled:

A South East View of ye Great Town of Boston in New England, America. It is dedicated

"To Peter Faneuil, Esq., This Prospect of the Town of Boston is Humbly Dedicated,
By Your Most obedt. Humble Serv^t.
William Price. 1743."

It is a large engraving printed in three sections, the whole measuring 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The original of this view was engraved at London in 1725 by John Harris from a drawing by William Burges and was dedicated to Gov. Shute. The only known original is said to be in the British Museum; a copy was in Boston it is said in 1830 in the City Hall but disappeared at the time the building was taken down. The engraving owned by the Antiquarian Society is a reproduction of the original with changes to bring it up to date 1743 at which time it was printed by William Price, Printer and Map seller in what is now Washington Street and Cornhill Court. Five copies of this are now known, of which that of this Society is believed to be in the best condition. The other four copies are owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Public Library, Dr. James B. Ayer of Boston, and Herbert Coles of Brookline.

John Harris the engraver of the original is probably the one mentioned in the Dictionary of National Biography as an engraver of works on Architecture who flourished from 1680 to 1740. He engraved "The Encampment of the Royal Army on Hounslow Heath in 1696," and also one, "Ships of the Royal Navey" both of which are scarce. Mr. Justin Winsor believed the drawing for the original was made by William Burges and sent to England to be engraved under Price's direction.

There is also a very poor copy of Bakewell's View of New York in 1746, taken from the Burges's View of 1717. The only known copy of the original is an imperfect one belonging to the New York Historical Society which has been reproduced on a small scale in J. Fiske's Dutch and Quaker

Colonies and in Valentine's Manual of the Corporation of New York for 1849.

The Bakewell reproduction is very rare and most of the copies now known are in poor condition. The full title of this print is:

"A South Prospect of ye Flourishing City of New York in the Province of New York, North America".

It is dedicated "to His Excellency Sir George Clinton, Esq., Captain-General & Governor in chief of the Province of New York and Territories thereon depending in America. This South Prospect of New York is most Humbly dedicated by Your Excellency's most Humble and Obt. Serv^t." This Bakewell published March 25, 1746.

Other framed engravings are General Washington. Painted by G. Stuart, 1797. Engraved by C. Goodman & R. Piggot. Published by W. H. Morgan, No. 114 Chestnut St. Philadelphia, 1818.

Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, Published by W. H. Morgan, Philadelphia.

John Quincy Adams, President of the United States. Painted by T. Sully. Engraved by A. B. Durant. Published, Oct. 6, 1826 by W. H. Morgan, 114 Chestnut St., Philadelphia.

James Monroe, LL.D., from a painting by King. Engraved by Goodman & Piggot who were pupils of David Edwin.

The Landing of Christopher Columbus on the morning of October 12, 1492. From a painting by E. Savage. Engraved by David Edwin, Philada. Published by E. Savage, Jan' 1", 1800. Edward Savage who was born in Princeton, Mass., in 1761, and died there in 1817, was not only a painter and publisher, but also an engraver. Edwin was an Englishman who came to Philadelphia in 1797 and engraved till 1830. This is considered one of his best works and is rare.

Thomas Jefferson. R. Peale Pinx, D. Edwin, Sc. Published by J. Savage, 1800. James Savage was a copper-plate printer and publisher in Philadelphia.

Oliver H. Perry, Esq., of the United States Navy, after Waldo, D. Edwin, Sc.

His Excellency John Adams, President of the United States of America. Dedicated to the Lovers of their Country and Firm Supporters of the Constitution. Engraved by H. Houston. Published by D. Kennedy, 228 Market St., Philadelphia.

Joseph Sewall, D.D., Pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, Ob. 27, June, 1769, aet. 81. Engraved and sold by Nat. Hurd, Boston, 1768.

The Rev^d Jonathan Mayhew, D. D., Pastor of the West Church in Boston. Richard Jennys, Jr., pinx't & fecit. Printed and Sold by Nat. Hurd, Engraver on ye Exchange.

Mr. Samuel Adams. J. Mitchell pinx't, Saml Okey Fecit. Printed by and for Chas. Reak & Saml Okey, Newport, Rhode Island, April, 1775.

Rev. Mr. William Welsted, of Boston in New England, Aet. 58. 1753. Half length to left, wig, bands, &c. J. S. Copley pinx't et fecit. Printed for & sold by Stepn Whiting at ye Rose & Crown in Union Street, Boston. This is the only known engraving by Copley, the noted portrait painter.

A colored reduced reproduction of an engraving of the Battle of Lexington by Amos Doolittle has lately been received. The original was one of four engraved by Doolittle after a visit to Lexington and Concord.

"In the New Haven Company that set out for Cambridge on the 20 April, 1775 were Mr. Earle,¹ a portrait painter,

¹ Ralph Earle, son of Ralph and Phebe (Whittemore) Earle, born May 11, 1751, in Leicester, Mass.; married, about 1773, Sarah Gates; died August 16, 1801, in Bolton, Conn. Among his works were two full-lengths of President Timothy Dwight, and many portraits which might have been found at Northampton or Springfield. He executed, from sketches taken upon the spot, four historical paintings, believed to be the first historical paintings ever executed by an American artist. One, the battle of Lexington; one, a view of Concord, with the royal troops destroying the stores; one, the battle of the North Bridge in Concord; and one, the south part of Lexington where the first detachment of British troops was joined by Lord Percy. These paintings were engraved and published by Amos Doolittle of New Haven, Conn.

This account is taken from Emory Washburn's History of Leicester, and from Dr. Pliny Earle's "Ralph Earle and his Descendants." Ralph, the painter, was in the sixth generation from the first Ralph.

and Amos Doolittle, an engraver. Mr. Earle made four drawings of Lexington and Concord, which were afterwards engraved by Mr. Doolittle. The plates were about 12 x 18 inches in size."

In "The Connecticut Journal" of Dec. 13, 1775, is the following advertisement:—"This day published. And to be sold at the store of Mr. James Lockwood, near the college in New Haven, four different views of the battles of Lexington and Concord, &c. on the 19 April, 1775." Two of these prints which are now very rare were on exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts.

An interesting colored print is a picture of the Boston Massacre supposed to have been a copy of Revere's well known print, reproduced in London.

At the top of the print is this inscription.

"THE FRUITS OF ARBITRARY POWER OR THE BLOODY MASSACRE, PERPETRATED IN KING STREET, BOSTON ON MARCH 5TH. 1770 IN WHICH MESS^{RS}. SAM^L GRAY, SAM^L MAVERICK, JAMES CALDWELL, CRISPUS ATTUCKS, PATRICK CARR WERE KILL^P. SIX OTHERS WOUNDED, TWO OF THEM MORTALLY."

At the bottom:

"HOW LONG SHALL THEY UTTER AND SPEAK HARD THINGS AND ALL THE WORKINGS OF INIQUITY BOAST THEMSELVES; THEY BREAK IN PIECES THY PEOPLE, O LORD AND AFFLICT THINE HERITAGE. THEY SLAY THE WIDOW AND STRANGER AND MURDER THE FATHERLESS—YET THEY SAY THE LORD SHALL NOT SEE NEITHER SHALL THE GOD OF JACOB REGARD IT."—*Psalm XXIV.*

There are also many hundred engraved portraits in portfolios, some of which are very rare. Mention is made of a few of them.

George Washington, President of the United States. Bust in oval. Savage, pinx't. (William) Rollinson Sc (1760-1848.

George Washington, Esqr., President of the United States of America. From the original Picture. Painted in 1790 for the Philosophical Chamber of the University of Cam-

bridge in Massachusetts. Publish'd Feby 7, 1792, by E. Savage (1761-1817) No. 29 Charles Street Middx. Hospital.

His Excellency Elbridge Gerry, LL.D., Governour of Massachusetts, Boston. Engraved by J(ohn) R(ubens) Smith (1770-1849) & Published, July 4th, 1811.

John Adams, President of the United States. (Full bust to right, head facing.) On a ribbon, "Millions for our defence,—not a cent for tribute." A new display of the United States. Wholesale by Amos Doolittle—1754-1832.

General Gates. From the Original Picture in the possession of Eben^r Stevens, Esq^r. Painted by Stuart. Engraved by Cornelius Tiebout, 1777-1830.

There are also portraits by Revere, Doolittle, Hurd, Norman and Harris, in the Royal American Magazine, Massachusetts Magazine, Boston Magazine, and in the Polyanthus.

In a notice of the Society prepared by the writer about thirty years ago a list was given of the portraits in oil then on our walls. As there have been some additions and changes since, a revised list is now given.

Portraits.

ISAIAH THOMAS, LL. D., founder and first president of the American Antiquarian Society, 1812-1831, author of "The History of Printing," &c. Born Jan. 19, 1749, O. S.; died April 4, 1831. Painted from life by E. A. Greenwood.

THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP, LL. D., second president of the Antiquarian Society, 1831-1841 and Lieut. Governor of Massachusetts, 1826-32. Born in New London, Conn., March 6, 1760; died Feb. 22, 1841. Painted by Thomas Sully.

JOHN DAVIS, LL. D., fourth president of the Antiquarian Society, 1853-1854, and Governor of Massachusetts, 1833-35, and 1840-41. Born in Northborough, Mass., Jan. 13, 1787; died April 19, 1854. Painted by Edwin T. Billings, from a daguerreotype; also a crayon portrait, life size.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, President of the American Antiquarian Society from 1854 to 1884. Painted by Daniel Huntington.

Rev. AARON BANCROFT, D. D., minister in Worcester, Mass., 1786-1839. Vice-president of the Society, 1816-31. Born in Reading, Mass., Nov. 10, 1755; died in Worcester, Aug. 19, 1839. Painted by Alvan Fisher.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS BALDWIN, Librarian of the Society, 1827-30. Born August 1, 1800; died August 20, 1835. Painted by Chester Harding.

SAMUEL FOSTER HAVEN, Librarian of the Antiquarian Society from 1838 to 1881. Painted by George A. Custer.

Rev. WILLIAM BENTLEY, D. D., minister in Salem, 1783. Councillor of the Society from 1812 to 1819. Born in Boston, June 22, 1759; died in Salem, Dec. 29, 1819. Copied from a portrait in Salem and presented by friends in that city.

EDWARD D. BANGS, Secretary of State, Mass., 1825-36. Councillor of Antiquarian Society, 1820-1824. Born in Worcester, Mass., Aug. 22, 1790; died in Worcester, April 8, 1838.

Rev. INCREASE MATHER, D. D., president of Harvard College 1685-1701. Born in Dorchester, Mass., June 21, 1639; died Aug. 23, 1723. Painted from life. This and the four following were presented to the Society by Mrs. Hannah Mather Crocker, of Boston.

Rev. COTTON MATHER, D. D., minister in Boston, 1684. Born Feb. 12, 1663; died Feb. 13, 1728. Painted and engraved by Pelham.

Rev. RICHARD MATHER, minister in Dorchester, Mass., 1636-69. Born in England, 1596; died in Dorchester, April 22, 1669. Painted from life.

Rev. SAMUEL MATHER, D. D., son of Cotton Mather. Born Oct. 30, 1706; died June 27, 1785. Painted from life.

Rev. SAMUEL MATHER, son of Richard Mather. Born in England, May 13, 1626; died in Dublin, Ireland, Oct. 29, 1671.

Rev. FRANCIS HIGGINSON, first minister of Salem, Mass. Died in 1630. Artist unknown.

JOHN ROGERS, probably the minister at Ipswich, who died in 1745.

JOHN ENDECOTT, Governor of Massachusetts Bay. Born in Dorchester, England, 1588; died March 15, 1665. Painted from an original, by Southland, of Salem, Mass. Presented to the Society by Hon. William C. Endicott, of Salem. A memorial of Gov. Endecott was communicated to the Society, at the meeting of October 21, 1873, by President Salisbury. Another portrait of Gov. Endecott, painted much earlier came from the estate of Rev. William Bentley.

JOHN WINTHROP, Governor of Massachusetts, for thirteen years between 1629 and 1648. Born in Groton, co. Suffolk, England, Jan. 12, 1588; died March 26, 1649. Said to have been painted from life. Also a bust of John Winthrop carved in wood by Samuel McIntire of Salem, received from the estate of Rev. William Bentley.

WILLIAM BURNET, Colonial Governor of New York and New Jersey, 1720; of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, 1728. Born 1688; died in Boston, Sept. 7, 1729.

Rev. THOMAS PRINCE, minister of Old South Church, Boston, 1718-58. Born in Sandwich, Mass., May 15, 1687; died in Boston, Oct. 22, 1758.

Rev. ELLIS GRAY, minister of the New Brick Church in Boston. Born 1717; died 1753.

CHARLES PAXTON, loyalist, Commissioner of the Customs at Boston. Born 1704; died in England, 1788. Supposed to have been painted by Copley.

JOHN CHANDLER, "the honest refugee," Sheriff, Judge of Probate and Treasurer for the County of Worcester. Born in New London, Conn., 1720; died in London, Eng., 1800.

JOHN MAY, of Boston, in his uniform as Colonel of the "Boston Regiment of Militia." Born in Pomfret, Conn., Nov. 24, 1748; died in Boston, July 13, 1812. Painted by Christian Gullager, A. D. 1789. Presented by Mary D. and C. Augusta May.

HANNAH ADAMS, author of *History of New England, &c.* Born in Medfield, Mass., 1755; died in Brookline, Mass., Nov. 15, 1831. Painted by Alexander. Presented by Henry W. Miller.

JOHN LEVERETT, Governor of Massachusetts, 1673-78. Born 1617; died March 16, 1679.

COLUMBUS. A copy from an original by Francesco Massuoli (Parmigianino), in the Royal Museum at Naples. Painted by Antonio Scardino. Presented by Hon. Ira M. Barton.

VESPUCIUS. From an original by Parmigianino, at Naples—Scardino. Presented by Hon. Ira M. Barton.

JAMES SULLIVAN, Governor of Massachusetts. Portrait in wax.

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT. Painted by Moses D. Wight.

CALVIN WILLARD, High Sheriff of Worcester County from 1824 to 1844. Painted by William Willard.

JOHN BUSH of Boylston, Mass., formerly a large owner of real estate in Worcester. Two portraits, one taken at the age of 40 and another at 60 years. Also portraits of his first wife Charity Platt, and of his third wife, Abigail Adams.

Among the books lately purchased by the society is one entitled.

THE CAMBRIDGE PRESS, 1638—1692. A HISTORY OF THE FIRST PRINTING PRESS ESTABLISHED IN ENGLISH-AMERICA, TOGETHER WITH A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF THE ISSUES OF THE PRESS. BY ROBERT F. RODEN, NEW YORK, DODD, MEAD, AND COMPANY, 1905. .

This volume gives an interesting account of the first printing press established in New England, with notices of the earliest and rarest of the production of Stephen Daye, Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson.

The bibliographical list gives the titles of over 200 of the imprints from the Cambridge press and it is gratifying to know that the Antiquarian Society have a fair representation of them in its library. Over forty of these early imprints have entirely disappeared the titles only being known.

Of the remaining publications which are now known of, the Society has about seventy as follows:—

1640

The | Whole | Booke of Psalmes | Faithfully | Translated into English | Metre. | Whereunto is prefixed a discourse de | claring not only the lawfullness, but also | the necessity of the heavenly Ordinance | of singing Scripture Psalmes in | the Churches of | God.

At top of first page of the preface, in handwriting of Dr. Thomas, "This is a copy of the first Book printed in British America. It was printed at Cambridge, N. E. 1639." In a different handwriting, "It was not completed at press till 1640." On fly-leaf at the end is the following MS. : "After advertising for another copy of this book, and making enquiry in many places in New England, &c., I was not able to obtain, or even to hear of another. This copy is therefore invaluable, and must be preserved with the greatest care. It is in the original binding, Sept. 28, 1820. Imperfect, title page and last leaf missing. I. T. [HOMAS]."

1649.

A | Platform of | Church Discipline | Gathered out of the Word of God: | And agreed upon by the Elders: | And Messengers of the Churches | Assembled in the Synod at Cambridge | in New-England. | To be presented to the Churches and Generall Court | for their consideration and acceptance, | in the Lord. | The Eighth Moneth, Anno 1649. | Printed by S. G. at Cambridge in New-England, | and are to be sold at Cambridge and Boston | Anno Dom: 1649. Sm. 4to. pp. (12), 29, (2).

1656.

MDCLVI. | An | Almanack | for the Year of | Our Lord | 1656. Being first after Leap-year, and | from the Creation 5588. | By T. S. Philomathemat: || Cambrdg | Printed by Samuel Green. 1656. 16mo. pp. (16).

1657.

An | Almanack | For the Year of | Our Lord | 1657. | Being the Second after Leap-year. | By S. B. Philomathemat: || Cambrdg. | Printed by Samuel Green 1657. 16mo. pp. (8).

A | Farewell Exhortation | To the Church and People | of Dorchester In | New-England, | But | not unusefull to any others, that shall heedfully Read | and Improve the same, | as | Containing Christian and serious Incitements, and | persuasions to the Study and Practice of Seven principal | Dutyes of great Importance for the Glory of God, and the | Salvation of the Soul, and therefore needfull to be Seriously | considered of all in these declining times, | By Richard Mather Teacher to the | Church above mentioned, | Printed by Samuel Green at Cambrdg in | New-England 1657. Sm. 4to. pp. (4), 27.

1660.

The | Book of the General | LAWS AND LIBERTYES | Concerning the Inhabitants of the | Massachusetts, collected out of the Records of | The General Court, for the several Years | Wherein they were made and | Established | And | Now Revised by the same Court, and disposed into an | Alphabetical order, and published by the same | Authority in the General Court holden] at Boston, in

May | 1649. | Cambridge, | Printed according to the Order of the General Court. | 1660 4to.

1661.

The New | Testament | of Our | Lord and Saviour | Jesus Christ. | Translated into the | Indian Language, | And | Ordered to be Printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies | in New-England, | At the Charge, and with the Consent of the | CORPORATION IN ENGLAND | For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians | in New-England. || Cambrdg: | Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. | MDCLXI.

Second title: Wusku] Wuttestamentum | Nul-Lordumun | Jesus Christ | Nuppoquohwussuaeneumun.

1662.

Almanack for 1662, title-page wanting; 12 pp. March to February; MDCLXII.; 2 pp. "The primum mobile" and "New England Zodiack." "The Phaethontick." 16mo. pp. (14).

Propositions | Concerning The | Subject of Baptism | and | Con-
sociation of Churches, | Collected and Confirmed out of the Word of
God, | By A | Synod of Elders | And | Messengers of the Churches |
in Massachusetts-Colony in New-England | Assembled at Boston,
according to Appointment of the | Honourable General Court, | In
the Year 1662. | Printed by S. G. for Hezekiah Usher at Boston in |
New-England, 1662. Sm. 4to. pp. (16), 32.

1663.

MDCLXIII. | An | Almanack | of | The Cœlestial Motions for the
year of the | Christian Æra | 1663. | Being (in our Account) Bissextile,
or Leap-year, | and from the Creation 5612. | Cambridge: | Printed
by S. Green and M. Johnson. 1663. 16mo. pp. (16).

Another Essay For the | Investigation | Of The Truth | In answer
to two Questions Con cerning I. The Subject of Baptism, | II.
The Consecration of Churches. | By John Davenport, | Cambridge,
Printed by S. Green, | and M. Johnson. | 1663. Sm. 4to. pp. (87).

The | Holy Bible: | Containing The | Old Testament | And The
New. | Translated into the | Indian Language, | And | Ordered to
be Printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies | in New-
England, | At the Charge, and with the Consent of the | Corporation
in England | For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians |
in New-England. || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green and
Marmaduke Johnson. MDCLXIII.

The Indian title is:

Mamusse | Wunneetupauatamwe | Up-Biblum God | Naneeswe
| Nukkone Testament | Kah wonk Wusku Testament. | Ne quosh-
kinnumuk nashpe Wuttineumoh Christ | noh Ascoweit | John
Eliot. || Cambridge: Printeuoop nashpe Samuel Green Kah Marma-
duke Johnson | 1663.

A | Discourse | about | Civil Government | in a New Plantation |
whose Design is | Religion. | By John Cotton, Cambridge. Printed by
Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson MDCLXIII.

1664.

MDCLXIV. | An | Almanack | OF | The Cœlestial Motions for
the Year of the | Christain Æra | 1664. | Being in our Account first

from Leap-year, | and from the Creation 5613. | By Israel Chauncy. Cambridge, || Printed by S. Green and M. Johnson. 1664. 16 mo. pp. (14).

A | Defence | of the | Answer and Arguments | of the | Synod | met at Boston in the year 1662. Together with an answer to the Apologetical Preface set before that essay. | Cambridge: S. Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1664.

The Sincere Convert. | By Thomas Shepard. || Cambridge: | Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1664. 12 mo. pp. 188. Title page missing.

Three Choice and Profitable | Sermons | upon Several Texts of Scripture. | By John Norton, || Cambridge: | Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1664.

1665.

MDCLXV. | An | Almanack | OF | Celestial Motions for the Year of the | Christian Epoch | 1665. | Being in our Account second from Leap- | year, and from the Creation 5614. | By Alex. Nowell, || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green. 1665. 16mo. pp. (16)

Manitowompae | Pomantamoonk: | Sampwshanau | Christianoh Uttoh Woh an | Pomantog. Wusaukitteahonat | God: | [Two lines from I. Tim. 4, 8 in the Indian language.] || Cambridge: | Printed in the Year 1665. Sm. 8vo. pp. 400.

This is the first edition of Lewis Bayly's "Practice of piety" (abridged) translated into the Indian language by John Eliot.

1666.

1666. | An | Almanack | or | Astronomical Calculations | Of the most remarkable Celestial Revolu- | tions &c. visible in our Horizon. Together with the Scripture and Jewish | Names (wherein though we agree not with | their Terms, yet we follow their Order) | for the ensuing Year 1666. || Cambridge: | Printed Anno Dom. 1666. 16mo. pp. (12).

1667.

1667 | An | Almanack | For | The Year of our Lord | 1667. . Being in our account Bissextile, or Leap- | year: and from the Creation 5616, | By Samuel Brakenbury Philomath. || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green 1667. 16mo. pp. (16).

1668.

MDCLXVIII | An | Almanack | OF | The Celestial Motions for the Year of | the Christian Epoch | 1668. | Being in our account first from | Leap-year, and from the Creation | 5617. By Joseph Dudley Astrophil. || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green 1668. 16mo. pp. (16.)

Gods | Terrible Voice | In the | City | of | London | Wherein you have the Narration of the | Two late Dreadful Judgements of | Plague and Fire, | Inflicted by the Lord upon that City; | The former in the Year 1665. the latter in the Year 1666. | By T. V. | To which is added, | The Generall Bill of Mortality, | Shewing the Number of Persons which died in every Parish of all | Diseases, and of the Plague, in the Year abovesaid. | Printed by Marmaduke Johnson 1668. Sm. 4to. pp. (32).

The | Rise, Spring | and Foundation | of the | Anabaptists | or Re- | baptized of our Time. | Written in French by Guy de Bores, 1665.

And Translated by J. S. || Cambridge. | Printed and to be sold by Marmaduke Johnson, 1668. 12 mo. pp. (4) 52.

Wine | For | Gospel Wantons: | Or, | Cautions || Against | Spirituall Drunkennes. | Being the brief Notes of a Sermon Preached at | Cambridge in New-England, upon a Day of Publick Fasting | and Prayer throughout the Colony, June 25, 1645, | in reference to the sad estate of the Lords | People in England. | By that Reverend Servant of the Lord, | Mr. Thomas Shepard deceased, | Sometimes the Pastor of the Church of Christ there. | [Three lines from Jer. vii. 12; two lines from Hosea iv. 4.] | Imprimatur, Charles Chauncy, John Sherman || Cambridge: Printed in the Year 1668. Sm. 4to. pp. (15).

1669.

1669 | An | Almanack | Of | Cœlestiall Motions | For the Year of the Christian Æra, | 1669. | Being (in our Account) second after Leap- | year, and from the Creation | 5618. | By J. B. Philo- | themat. || Cambridge: | Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1669. 16mo. pp. (16).

The | Indian Primer; | or | The | way of training up of our | Indian Youth in the good | Knowledge of God, in the | Knowledge of the Scriptures | and in an ability to Reade. | Composed by J. E. || (In the Indian language) || Cambridge: | Printed 1669. (This copy is quite imperfect).

New-England's | Memoriall: | or | A Brief Relation of the most Memorable and Remarkable | Passages of the Providence of God, manifested to the | Planters | of | New-England in America; | With special Reference to the first Colony thereof, Called | New-Plimouth, etc. By Nathaniel Morton, Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New-Plimouth. | . . . || Cambridge: | Printed by S. G. and M. J., for John Vaher of Boston, 1669. 4to. pp. (215).

A True and Exact | Relation | of the Late | Prodigious Earthquake & Eruption | of | Mount Ætna, | Or, Monte-Gibello; | As it came | In a Letter written to His Majesty from Naples | By the Right Honourable | The Earl of Winchilsea. | Published by Authority, || Cambridge: | Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1669. 4 to. pp. (19).

1670.

1670 An Almanack | OF | Cœlestiall Motions | For the Year of the Christian Æra, | 1670. | Being (in our Account) third after Leap- | year, and from the Creation | 5619. | By J. R. || Cambridge: | Printed by S. G. and M. J. 1670. 16mo. pp. (16).

Balm in Gilead | to heal | Some Wounds. | By Thomas Walley, || Cambridge: | Printed by S. G. and M. J., 1670. 12 mo. pp. (5) 3-20.

The | Life and Death | of | that Reverend Man of God, | Mr. Richard Mather. || Cambridge. | Printed by S. G. and M. J., 1670.

New England's | True Interest | not to lie. | By W. Stoughton. || Cambridge: | Printed by | S. G. and M. J., 1670.

1671.

Almanack for 1671. Title-page wanting; 12 pp. March to February; at the bottom of each of the twelve pages of calendar are 8 lines of poetry.

Nehemiah | on the | Wall | in Troublesome Times. | By Jonathan Mitchell. || Cambridge: | Printed by S. Green and M. Johnson 1671.

A | Platform | of Church Discipline. || Cambridge: | Printed by Marmaduke Johnson 1671.

A Serious | Exhortation | to the | Present and Succeeding | Generation | in | New-England. | By Eleazar Mather. || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1671.

1672.

An | EPHEMERIS | Of The | Cœlestiall Motions for the Year of the | Christian Epoch | 1672. | By Jeremiah Shepard. Printed by Samuel Green. 1672. 16mo. pp. (16).

The | Book of General | Laws | of the Inhabitants of the Jurisdiction of | New-Plymouth. || Cambridge: | Samuel Green 1672.

The General | Laws | and | Liberties | of the | Massachusetts | Colony: | Revised and Re-printed. || Cambridge: | Samuel Green 1672.

Peace | The End of the Perfect and Uprigh, [sic] | Demonstrated and usefully Improved in a | Sermon, | Preached upon the Occasion of the Death and Decease of that | Piously Affected, and truly Religious Matron, | Mrs. Anne Mason: | By Mr. James Fitch, Pastor of the Church of Christ at | Norwich. || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green. 1672. Sm. 4to. pp. (2), 13.

The | Spouse of Christ | Coming out of affliction, leaning upon Her | Beloved: | Or, A | Sermon | Preached by | Mr. John Allin | The late Reverend Pastor to the Church of Christ at Dedham. Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green: and are to be sold | by John Tappin of Boston. 1672. Sm. 4to. pp. (4), 11.

1673.

1673 | An | Almanack | Of | Cœlestiall Motions of the Year of the | Christian Era. | 1673. | Being second after Leap-year and from | the Creation, | 5622. By N. H. || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green. 1673. 16mo. pp. (16).

New-England Freemen | Warned and Warmed | to be Free indeed, | etc. By J. O. [John Oxenbridge.] || Cambridge: | Samuel Green 1673. 16 mo. pp. (6) 48.

New-England | Pleaded with, | and pressed to consider the things which | concern her | Peace. | By Uriah Oakes. || Cambridge: | Samuel Green. 1673. 12 mo. pp. (6) 64.

Wo to Drunkards. | Two Sermons. | By Increase Mather. || Cambridge: | Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1673. 12 mo. pp. (4) 34.

1674.

The | Cry of Sodom | Enqvired Into: | Upon Occasion of | The Arraignment and Condemnation | Of | BENJAMIN GOAD, | For his Prodigious Villany, | Together with | A Solemn Exhortation to Tremble at Gods Judgements, | and to Abandon Youthful Lusts. | By S. D[anforth] || Cambridge: | Printed by Marmaduke Johnson, 1674. 4to. pp. (4), 26.

An | Exhortation | unto | Reformation, | Amplified. By Samuel Torrey, || Cambridge: | Marmaduke Johnson, 1674. 12 mo. pp. (8) 44.

Souldiery Spiritualized, | Or | the Christian Souldier | Orderly, and Strenuously Engaged in the | Spiritual Warre, | And So fighting the good Fight: | Represented in a Sermon Preached at Boston in | New England on the Day of the Artil- | lery Election there, June 1,

1674. | By Joshua Moody Pastor of the Church at | Portsmouth in New-England. || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green, 1674. 4to. pp. (2), (2), 47.

The Unconquerable | all-conquering | & | more | then | conquering | Souldier. By Uriah Oakes. || Cambridge: | Samuel Green, 1674. 12 mo. pp. (6) 40.

1675.

1675 | An | Almanack | Of | Coelestial motions for the Year of the | Christian Era, | 1675. | Being (in our Account) Leap-Year, | and from the Creation 5624. | By J. Foster. | Printed by Samuel Green 1675. 16mo. pp. (16).

A Discourse | Concerning the Subject of Baptisme, | By Increase Mather. || Cambridge: | Samuel Green, 1675. 12 mo. pp. (4) 76.

The | First Principles | of | New-England, | Concerning the Subject of Baptisme | Communion of Churches. By Increase Mather, || Cambridge: | Samuel Green, 1675. 12 mo. pp. (8) 40, 7.

Several | Laws & Orders | Made at the Sessions of the General | Court | Held at Boston the 13th of October 1675. As also at the Sessions | of Court held at Boston the 3^d of November 1675. | And Printed by their Order, | Edward Rawson Secr. pp. 25-28.

1676.

1676 | An | Almanack | Of | Coelestial Motions of the Sun and Planets, | with some of their principal Aspects. | For the Year of the Christian Era, | 1676. | Being in our Account the first after Bis- | sextile or Leap-year and from the Creation, 5625. By J. S[herman.] || Cambridge: | Printed by S. Green 1676. 16mo. pp. (16).

1677.

1677. | An | Almanack | Of | Coelestial Motions of the Sun and Planets, | with some of their principal Aspects | For the Year of the Christian Era | 1677. | Being in our Account the second after | Leap-year and from the Creation, 5626. By J. S [herman.] || Cambridge: | Printed by S. Green 1677. 16mo. pp. (16).

1678.

Pray for the Rising Generation, | Or A | Sermon | Wherein Godly Parents are Encou- | raged, to Pray and Believe | for their Children. | Preached the third day of the fifth Month, 1678. || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green, and sold by | Edmund Ranger in Boston, 1678. 16mo. pp. (4), 23.

1680.

The New Testament. Translated into the Indian Language.

WUSKU. | Wutteestamentum | Nul-lordumun | Jeeus Christ. Nuppoquohwussuaenennmun. || Cambridge, | Printed for the Right Honourable | Corporation in London, for the | propagation of the Gospel among the In- | dians in New-England. 1680. || Cambridge: | Samuel Green, 1680.

1682.

An | Ephemeris | of | Coelestial Motions, Aspects, | &c. For the year of the Christian Aera 1682. | By W. Brattle Philomath. || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green 1682. 16 mo. pp. (14) 9.

A | Seasonable Discourse | Wherein | Sincerity & Delight | in the Service of God | is earnestly pressed upon | Professors of Religion. Delivered on a Public Fast, at Cambridge in | New-England, | By the Reverend, and Learned Urian Oakes, | Late Pastor of the Church there and Praesident of | Harvard Colledge. || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green 1682. Sm. 4to. pp. (6), 23.

1685.

The New-England | Almanack | For | The Year of our Lord 1685. | And of the World 5635. | Since the planting of Massachusetts Colony in New-England 58 | Since the found. of Harv. Coll. 44. By S. D. Philomath. | Printed by Samuel Green, sen. Printer to Harvard Colledge in New-England. A. D. 1685. 16mo. pp. (17).

Mamusse | Wunneetupanatamwe | Up-Biblum God | Naneeswe | Nukkone Testament | Kah Wonk | WUSKU Testament. | Ne quosh-kinnumuk nashpe Wuttinneumoh Christ | noh asoowesit | John Eliot, | Nahotceu ontcheteo Printeuoomuk, || Cambridge: | Printeuoop nashpe Samuel Green. MDCLXXXV. Second Edition of the entire Bible.

1689.

Sampwutteahae | Quinnuppekompauaenin. | Wahuwômookoggus-semesuog Sampwutteahae | Wunnamptamwaenuog, | Mache wussuk-humun ut English-Mâne Unnontoowaonk nasphpe | Né muttæ-wun-negeundé Wuttinneumoh Christ | Noh asoowesit | Thomas Shepard | Quinnuppenumun en Indiana Unnontoowaonganit nashpe | Ne Quettianatamwe wuttinneumoh Christ | Noh asoowesit | John Eliot. | Kah nawhutche ut aiyeuangaash oggussemese ontcheteanun | Nashpe Grindal Rawson. || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green, in the Year 1689. Sm. 8vo. pp. (2), (2), 161.

This is Mr. Shepard's "Sincere Convert."

1691.

Tulley. 1691. | An | Almanack | For the Year of our Lord, | MDCXCI. | Being Third after Leap-year; and | From the Creation | 5640. By John Tulley. || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green, and B. Green. | And are to be Sold, by Nicholas Buttolph, at Gutteridge's Coffee-House in Boston. 1691. 16mo. pp. (16).

Nashauanittue Meninnunk | Wutch | Mukkiesog, | Wussecémumun wutch Sogkodtunganash | Naneeswe Testamentsash; | Wutch | Ukkesitchippooonganoo. Ukketeahogkounooh: | Negonâe wussuk-humun ut Englishmâne Unnon- | toowaonganit, nashpe ne ânue, wunnegenie | Nohtompeantog. | Noh asoowesit | John Cotton. | Kah yeuyeu quushkinnumun en Indiana | Wunnaunchemooke Nohtompeantog ut kenugke | Indianog. | Mukkiesog, | Nashpe Grindal Rawson, || Cambridge: | Printeuoop nashpe Samuel Green kah | Bartholomew Green. 1691. 8vo. pp. 13.

This is John Cotton's Spiritual Milk for Babes drawn from the Breasts of both Testaments, for the Nourishment of their Souls.

1692.

Tulley, | 1692. | An | Almanack | For the Year of our Lord, | MDCXCII. | Being Bissextile or Leap-Year, | And from the Creation, | 5641. By John Tulley. || Cambridge: | Printed by Samuel Green, & Bartholomew Green, | for Samuel Phillips, and are to be Sold | at his Shop at the West end of the | Exchange in Boston. 1672. 16 Mo. pp. (24).

Dr. Samuel A. Green¹ in his List of Early American Imprints, in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, gives the titles of sixty-five that are in Roden's list and also three not given there. These are:

1657.

The Life and Death of that deservedly Famous Mr. John Cotton, the late Reverend Teacher of the Church of Christ at Boston in New England. Collected out of the Writings and Information of the Rev. Mr. John Davenport of New-haven, the Rev. Mr. Samuel Whiting, at Lynne, the pious widow of the Deceased, and others: and compiled by his unworthy Successor, John Norton. Cambridge: Printed by S. Green, 1657.

1662.

"Anti-Synodalia Scripta Americana. | Or, | a Proposal of the Judgment of the Dissenting Ministers of the Churches of New-England Assembled, | by the Appointment of the General Court, | March 10, 1662, whereof there were several | Sessions afterwards. | This Script or Treatise, by Gods Providence, falling into | the hands of a Friend to the Truth, and the Contents thereof, etc., | was published for the Churches good, although without any Commission from the Dissenting Brethren; which they are desired not to | be offended with. | Wherein there is an Answer to the Arguments alledged by the Synoda."

1670.

Viris Authoritate Praecipuis Prudentia Celeberrimis |
[Imprint at foot of page]
Cantabrigial Nov-Angliae die nono Sextilis Anno M. DC. LXX.
Broadside, Folis.

The Historical Society list contains about thirty not in the Antiquarian Society Library.

The Lenox Library of New York has fifty-nine of the imprints of the first Cambridge Press including one not mentioned by Roden; of those in the Lenox Library, twenty-six are not in the Library of the Antiquarian Society.

¹ Dr. Green's original list printed in 1895 contained the titles of over three hundred early American imprints, printed in the United States before 1701. Four supplementary lists increased this list to about four hundred.

Mr. Paine's list with later additions contained over one hundred and fifty titles printed previously to 1701 that were not in that of Dr. Green.

OBITUARIES.

THE unexpected death of the President is a great grief to the Antiquarian Society. Honourable Stephen Salisbury was born in Worcester, March 31, 1835. He was the only son of our first President Salisbury and bore his name. This name, indeed, perpetuated the name and honour in the life of Massachusetts for several generations known.

The grandfather of our late President established himself in Worcester in 1767, forming a partnership known as the firm of Samuel and Stephen Salisbury. They were closely connected with the firm of Sewall and Salisbury in Boston, who for the last years of the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth century were prominent in the foreign commerce and domestic trade of Massachusetts. It was this first Stephen Salisbury who built the house now occupied by the Hancock Club, at the north end of the Main Street in Worcester, the house which becomes the property of the Antiquarian Society under the will of its late President.

The late Stephen Salisbury was educated at our own public schools. He went to Harvard College in the year 1852, where he graduated in the year 1856.

He studied law at the Cambridge Law School and was admitted to the Bar, but in his active life he gave most of his time and energy to the public duties which in his sense of duty belonged to a man of large property in a city like Worcester. And in interpreting those duties he was always proud and glad to take the largest view.

I think it is not improper in this connection to repeat an anecdote of his father which I heard in the year 1846

when the son was but eleven years old. At a town meeting in Worcester some complaint was made of the injustice of maintaining a high school of the first grade, as the town did then, and has done ever since. The father of this child of eleven joined in the discussion to urge the importance of the school and its necessity. The town, true to its tradition and its future, voted the appropriation. It was said at the time that Mr. Salisbury's tax applicable to the maintenance of the school amounted to one quarter of the tax levied on the whole community. Even Philistines might be made to feel that in his generous care for the town and city of Worcester Mr. Salisbury has repaid the pecuniary obligation which he thus owed to it for his education.

Mrs. Salisbury, his mother, who was Miss Rebekah Scott Dean, of Charlestown, New Hampshire, a lady in every way charming, died when he was only eight years old. But to her and to his father he owed an education admirably well conducted, of which the fruits may be seen everywhere. In the last long interview which I had with him he said with great earnestness that what he noticed in the educational systems of modern times was a certain failure to impress the idea of duty. "When I was a boy", he said, "I was trained to do my duty if I could find what that was." This was the central thing. Greek, Latin, Mathematics, botany, paleontology, or the correlation of forces,—whatever the boy's study,—was to be made subservient to the business of doing his duty. It seems to me worth while to put this axiom of his on record as a fair statement in short of his solution of the problem of Life.

I suppose that he himself could not remember the first time when his father took him into the old Antiquarian Hall, so attractive in every sense. With dear Mr. Haven, so fondly remembered by the older members of the Society, the boy would have been intimate in a moment.

And from that time till he died our rooms were as much a part of his home as was the house in which he slept at

night. May one be permitted to say that there is a sort of endosmose in which the sentiments and habits soak into the life of a person so fortunately brought into what we like to call the atmosphere of books? The life of Harvard College in those days, though nothing to what it is now, was still important enough to continue habits and to widen interests which were thus formed. I may say that without knowing it the father was training the son to be an invaluable president of the Antiquarian Society.

I never heard him say so, but I suppose that the friendship which he formed in college with our distinguished associate Señor Casares gave him the first interest which he had in the states and provinces of Central America. In his college days under the lead of Squier, Stephens, and Catherwood, the people of the United States were beginning to learn more thoroughly what Humboldt and the early writers had forewarned them of, the mysteries of the archæology of those regions. As early as 1876 Mr. Salisbury contributed to our cabinet and to our printed proceedings the results of his studies and explorations in that quarter. The connection with those regions is now so close that we may hope that they will never be lost sight of and that the Society will always hold the honourable place which under his lead it has taken in the studies of the early history of the Continent.

But his tastes and studies were by no means confined to archæology. The Natural History Society of the City of Worcester, the Horticultural Society, the Society of Antiquity, the Art Museum, the Public Library, all the institutions of public education,—indeed every organization which looks to the Larger Life was sure of his active support.

He was a cordial friend and fellow worker with Dr. Alonzo Hill, Mr. Hall, and Mr. Garver, successive ministers of the Second Church, and in the work of that Religious Society. Almost of course he was a prominent member of the direction of the Peabody Fund in maintaining the

Peabody Museum at Cambridge. Almost of course he was sent by his district to the State Senate as often as he could give so much of his time to their work in the public service.

The Council and the Society are glad to place on record the unanimous testimony of gratitude of its members.

EDWARD E. HALE.

Stephen Salisbury president of this society, died at his home in Worcester, Nov. 16th, 1905.

At a meeting of the council held soon after his death, remarks were made by several of the members, in which Mr. Salisbury's life and character were fully described, an account of which meeting has been published by the society.

Rev. Dr. Hale has prepared a tribute which will be presented at this meeting.

The newspapers of Worcester have published elaborate notices of him. It only remains for the biographer to state a few of the important events of his life.

These are,

Born in Worcester March 31st., 1835.

Graduated from Harvard University 1856.

Travelled abroad 1856-58 and in 1888.

Studied in Berlin and Paris 1856-58.

Graduated from Harvard Law School 1861.

Visited Yucatan 1861.

Admitted to the bar 1863.

Member of the Common Council of Worcester 1864-5-6,
being its President 1866.

Member of the Mass. Senate 1893-4-5.

Visited Yucatan and other parts of Mexico and also
Cuba 1885.

Member of this society 1863-1905.

Member of its council 1874-84.

Vice-President 1884-88.

President 1888 till death.

His life was passed in Worcester and he was connected with its institutions and organizations, business, educational, artistic, philanthropic, social, in numbers literally too numerous to mention. He declined all further poli-

tical honors though it was made clear to him that he could at any time be mayor of Worcester, or member of congress. Several original papers as well as some translations of those prepared by other members have been presented to this society and its cabinet and library have received numerous and valuable contributions from him. As president his interest as shown by great and constant labors as well as gifts is familiar to us all. The large bequest made in his will is appropriately communicated to the society in the report of the council.

An authentic notice of Mr. Salisbury may be found in The History of Worcester County published by Lewis in 1889, Vol. 2, Page 1676. S. U.

Señor Don Joaquin Hubbe, a biographical notice by Professor Rodolf Menendez, Director of the State Normal School of Yucatan.

The free and sovereign State of Yucatan, which since the year 1821, is an integral part of the Mexican Confederacy, has produced very remarkable men in all the paths of human activity.

In politics, in civil and religious government, in the science of war, in that of law, in history, in archaeology, in literature, in public education, etc., etc., Yucatan has had, and has to this day conspicuous representatives who could be the ornament and pride of any society whatever, either in America or in Europe.

We could with pleasure mention some illustrious names; but the nature and prescribed extent of this paper forbids it and our purpose now is that of bringing forth the personality of a son of Yucatan who is worthy of esteem and respect for more than one reason, as he left strong traces of his life in the records of modern democracy.

We refer to the Engineer Señor Joaquin Hübbe who passed away in this city on the 31st of December, 1901, to the general grief of his fellow citizens.

At the close of the first quarter of the 19th century Doctor John Hübbe, a native of Hamburg, established his home in Yucatan. He came with a well deserved reputation before him and he soon won the regard of the people of the country, which he made his own by raising a family. He married in Campeche, the distinguished lady, Señora Gertrudis Garcia Rejon and from their union the subject

of this Memoir was born on the first of January, 1832, at the city of Mérida, where his parents happened to be at the time, and he was baptized on the fourth of the same month in our Cathedral called Emeritense.

The future Engineer was but nine years old when he had the misfortune of losing his father in the city of Campeche, on the 5th of June, 1842, in the prime of life, as he was then only forty-two years old.

The bereaved mother soon made up her mind to settle in Mérida for the purpose of devoting herself to the education of her children. We may mention by the way that this noble matron lived until the 28th of June, 1884, when she ended a life remarkable by the virtues of an excellent wife and model mother.

Señor Joaquin Hübbe acquired the first notions of education in Campeche at the reputed school of the enlightened French Professor Monsieur Gilbeau. His mother afterwards wished him to go to a good school in the United States under Mr. Thebaud's guardianship, having spent the years 1844 and 1845 with his family. He showed there a very brilliant disposition to study and when this fact came to the knowledge of his paternal grandfather who lived in Hamburg, he expressed the wish of calling him to his side, to which request his mother agreed to comply and Señor Hübbe ended the course of his preparatory studies in the aforesaid German City, and subsequently began the study of Civil Engineering, a profession which we may here state could not at that time be studied in this country. During the whole course of his studies he distinguished himself for his good behaviour and noteworthy laboriousness. His assiduity was crowned at last by success and he got his diploma of a Civil Engineer in 1857.

He had hardly gone through the scientific course of his profession when he was called to be a member of a Technical Commission that had the charge of building a railroad in the British Possessions in India, and of other works in Lower Egypt. When these works were finished he returned to Yucatan at the end of the year 1858, and began immediately to practise his profession.

On the 21st of August, 1859, he married the honorable young lady, Doña Joaquina Peon, who was his happy companion until her death in 1879, leaving him the sooth-ing duty of devoting himself to their many children.

From the very moment that Sr. Joaquin Hübbe landed on our shores to the time of his death, he lent very important services to the State. He was in constant intercourse with the most distinguished and influential men of the community who acknowledged his talents and worth. The country was then going through an extremely difficult and precarious stage of existence. The social war, that is the uprising of the Indians against the white population, had burst in 1847, bringing ruin and desolation over the whole country. Revolutionary movements followed each other in vertiginous cycles not only in this State, but in the whole nation, and discord lifted her dismal torch on all quarters. The three years' war of the Reformation, the French Intervention and the war against the exotic empire of Maximilian of Hapsburg rebounded with great shock in Yucatan.

After the restoration of the Republic in 1867, and later on after the so-called Fuxtepec Revolution headed by General Porfirio Diaz, not only the state of Yucatan, but the whole country went into a period of order and general reconstruction.

The wide range of Señor Hübbe's information, his knowledge of foreign languages, his excellent traits of character, his unfailing honesty and activity were fully appreciated by all the succeeding administrations, even by that of the Imperial Commissary Señor Salazar Salregui. So it was that at different times he was charged with offices of the highest importance and honorability.

As a member of several political Commissions, as Director general of Public Works, as President of the City Council of Mérida, as member of the Governor's Council, which is now extinct, as Deputy to the State Legislature, and as Secretary of State during the administration of our great historian Señor Eligio Ancona, and other public offices, Señor Joaquin Hübbe displayed his rare gifts as a high minded patriot and prominent statesman as well as his ardent love for his native soil. But the greatest glory of this meritorious citizen he acquired as a public writer, it being a great pity that his various writings should not have been collected. His historical treatise on British Honduras, called the Belice Colony, made a great impression not only in Yucatan, but also in the Capital of our Republic and in foreign countries. In that study the rights of Mexico to the country beyond the Hondo River are fully proved by

authentical documents. Not a few Yucatecan periodicals have filled their pages and columns with articles that appear subscribed by Señor Joaquin Hübbe, especially the "Eco del Comercio" in its first epoch. This paper was founded by the diligent publisher, Don Manuel Heredin Arguelles and Señor Hübbe was its chief editor. His writings were always attractive and interesting by their easy and genial style, discreet, full of meaning and always tending to the general welfare of the community. The ideas that sprang from his pen were highly characteristic and imposed themselves into the public minds. His great general information as well as his great proficiency on various matters enabled him to take hold of the most useful and transcendental questions on political economy, the relations and equilibrium of the European nations and those of America, as well as questions about commerce, agriculture, local industries and the like. He paid paramount attention to the raising of hemp, the chief and almost only source of wealth in the State of Yucatan. The magnificent and wonderful ruins that are scattered over all the surface of our Peninsula engaged his attention and they are indebted to him for very mature considerations. Material and scientific progress in all their manifestations found in him a ready, enthusiastic and learned worker, who labored always in the most unselfish manner. His clear sight was always intent upon all progress in the various administrative branches of government and upon all those that in any way led to the improvement of the commonwealth. So did Señor Hübbe understand and practise patriotism, without ostentation or vanity.

To end these lines which we have gladly written as an humble tribute we render to the man of whom we were sincere admirers while we edited the "Eco del Comercio," in the offices of which we worked for a long time by his side, we may add that Señor Joaquin Hübbe was a member of several societies, both European and American and that he constantly held correspondence with respectable men abroad. We may also say that in politics his ideas were moderate and that though his religious principles were not in perfect accordance with those of the very great majority of his fellow citizens, he was always respectful of those that held them sincerely; as a public officer he was faithful and zealous in the fulfilment of his duties, as a citizen he

was honorable to the whole extent of the word, and in private life he was a perfect gentleman.

He was positively a conspicuous man and by no means could he be counted among the anonymous crowd. He was an honor to his country and for that reason his memory ought not to be cast into oblivion to which not unfrequently public indifference has condemned unhappily that of many of our fellow citizens of eminent merits and of unquestionable deserts.

He did his duty as a good man toward his family, toward his country and toward humanity.

(Signed) RODOLF MENENDEZ.

MERIDA, April 10th, 1906.

This notice was written at the request of the undersigned by Professor Rodolfo Menendez, a colleague of Señor Hübbecke at a time, and one who has been for a long time an enthusiastic and indefatigable promoter of public education. The paper has been translated from the original Spanish into English by me, the undersigned, who has the honor of communicating it to the American Antiquarian Society in due fulfillment of a wish entertained by our very much lamented friend, and never to be forgotten late President of the Society.

DAVID CASARES.

MERIDA, YUCATAN, April 12th, 1906.

James Davie Butler died in Madison, Wis., Nov. 20th, 1905. He was born in Rutland Vt. Mar. 15th, 1815, graduated at Middlebury College in 1836 as salutatorian, was one year in Yale Theological Seminary, returned to Middlebury College for five terms as tutor, and in 1840 finished his theological course at Andover Theological Seminary, remaining as Abbot resident till 1842, when he went abroad with Prof. E. A. Park for about one and one-half years, and on his return prepared a number of descriptive lectures one or another of which were delivered over three hundred times in or near New England.

He was Professor in Norwich University 1845-7, in Wabash College 1854-8, in Wisconsin University 1858-67, was pastor of Congregational Churches in Wells River, Vt., 1847-51, in South Danvers now Peabody, Mass., 1851-2, and in Cincinnati, O., 1852-5. Since 1858 his residence has been Madison, Wis.

He was a great traveller, going into all sections of this country as well as making four journeys to Europe and going around the world at seventy-six years of age.

Middlebury College conferred the degree of LL.D., upon him in 1863.

In 1845 Dr. Butler married Anna Bates, daughter of President Bates of Middlebury College, who died in 1892. They had four children who survived him.

He wrote letters for the *New York Observer* during his first foreign tour and made similar contributions to leading papers during his other journeys.

For the *New York Nation* he was a contributor for twenty-five years, his articles in all numbering over 250, the last one written when he was nearly ninety. He also wrote on a great variety of widely differing topics in which he displayed the same activity as in his travels.

He was connected with the Wisconsin State Historical Society as curator and Vice President from 1867 to 1900, and maintained his interest in it till his death, having been very influential in giving it its high standing in the country and of which he said, it "has been the thing for which I have cared most."

Of him the *New York Nation* said "his saturation with the language of Shakespeare and of the Greek authors oozed up in his writings giving a characteristic quaintness to his style".

Our associate Mr. R. G. Thwaites, said of him "as for his uniform kindness of temper, his fair frank estimate of things they charmed us all. To our 'grand old man', age brought no narrowness of view, no tendency to cynicism, no crabbedness of soul; he was to the last, mellow, open hearted, responsive to the best impulses of his day."

He became a member of this society in 1854, standing third in seniority at his death, and showed his interest in it by constant letters and gifts, delivering a paper on the Copper Age in Wisconsin, in 1877, on *The New Found Journal* of Charles Floyd in 1894 when he was in his eightieth year and sent a short notice of *A Brewster Autograph* in Wisconsin for the meeting in April 1902. He also prepared an exhaustive and touching memorial of his long time friend the late Charles Kendall Adams, which was presented to the society in April 1905, when he was past ninety.

Full notices of him may be found in the *New York Nation* of Nov. 30th, 1905, and the *Wisconsin State Journal*, published in Madison, of the date of Nov. 21st, 1905, and in the *Proceedings of the Wisconsin State Historical Society*. He inspired great affection in all who knew him and will be long missed by a wide circle of friends.

Samuel Pierpont Langley was born in Roxbury, now Boston, Aug. 22d, 1834, and died at Aiken, S. C., Feb. 27th, 1906, his residence for many years having been in Washington, D. C.

He was Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution from 1887 till death. He was an architect and civil engineer and attained great distinction as an astronomer and physicist.

Many American and Foreign colleges and universities conferred degrees upon him and he was a member of numerous learned societies. He joined this society in 1888.

S. U.

COLUMBUS, RAMON PANE AND THE BEGINNINGS OF AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGY.

BY EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE.

ABOUT three weeks hence on May 20th will be celebrated the 400th anniversary of the death of Columbus. Apparently little notice will be taken of this anniversary in the United States. To the American people at large the event of supreme interest in the career of the Admiral is, of course, the discovery of the New World, and the quadricentenary of that was celebrated with an elaboration which naturally precludes any considerable expenditure of effort and enthusiasm within the same generation in commemoration of the death of the discoverer. Yet this anniversary should not pass unnoticed, least of all by a learned society devoted to the study of American antiquities, for Christopher Columbus not only revealed the field of our studies to the world but actually in person set on foot the first systematic study of American primitive custom, religion and folklore ever undertaken. He is in a sense therefore the founder of American Anthropology. This phase of the varied activities of the discoverer has received in our day little or no attention. To all appearances it is not even mentioned in Justin Winsor's six hundred page biography. Such neglect is owing in part to the discredit that has been cast upon the life of Columbus by his son Ferdinand in consequence of which its contents have not been studied with due critical appreciation.

In Ferdinand's biography of his father, commonly referred to under the first word of the Italian title as the *Historie*, are imbedded not a few fragments of Columbus' own letters

and other documents not commonly reproduced in the selections from his writings. To two such documents as presenting the evidence of Columbus' interest and efforts in the field of American Anthropology I invite your attention this morning.

The first contains the discoverer's own brief summary of what he was able to learn of the beliefs of the natives of Espa*ñ*ola during the period of his second voyage, 1493-96, and the record of his commissioning the Friar Ramon Pane who had learned the language of the islanders, "to collect all their ceremonies and antiquities." The second is Ramon's report of his observations and inquiries and is not only the first treatise ever written in the field of American Antiquities, but to this day remains our most authentic record of the religion and folk-lore of the long since extinct Tainos, the aboriginal inhabitants of Hayti.

The original Spanish text of these documents is no longer extant and, like the *Historie* which contains them, they are known to us in full only in the Italian translation of that work published in Venice in 1571 by Alfonso Ulloa.

The observations of Columbus first referred to were recorded in his narrative of his second voyage which we possess only in the abridgments of Las Casas and Ferdinand Columbus. Both of these authors in condensing the original, incorporated passages in the exact words of the Admiral, and it is from such a passage in Ferdinand's abridgment that we derive the Admiral's account of the religion of primitive Hayti. Ferdinand writes: "Our people also learned many other things which seem to me worthy to be related in this our history. Beginning then with religion I will record here the very words of the Admiral who wrote as follows:"

"I was able to discover neither idolatry nor any other sect among them, although all their kings, who are many, not only in Espa*ñ*ola but also in all the other islands and on the main land* each have a house apart from the village, in which there is nothing except some wooden

*I. e. Cuba, which Columbus believed to be the main land.

images carved in relief which are called *cemis*,* nor is there anything done in such a house for any other object or service except for these *cemis*, by means of a kind of ceremony and prayer which they go to make in it as we go to churches. In this house they have a finely wrought table, round like a wooden dish in which is some powder which is placed by them on the heads of these *cemis* in performing a certain ceremony; then with a cane that has two branches which they place in their nostrils they snuff up this dust. The words that they say none of our people understand. With this powder they lose consciousness and become like drunken men.

They give a name to this figure, and I believe it is that of a father, grandfather or of both, since they have more than one such, and some more than ten, all in memory, as I have said, of some one of their ancestors. I have heard them praise one more than another, and have seen them show it more devotion and do more reverence to one than another as we do in processions where there is need.

Both the Caciques and the peoples boast to each other of having the best *cemis*. When they go to these *cemis* of theirs and enter the house where he is they are on their guard with respect to the Christians and do not suffer them to enter it. On the contrary, if they suspect they are coming, they take the *cemi* or the *cemis* away and hide them in the woods for fear they may be taken from them; and what is more laughable they have the custom of stealing each other's *cemis*. It happened once, when they suspected us, that the Christians entered the said house with them and of a sudden the *cemi* gave a loud cry and spoke in their language from which it was discovered that it was artfully constructed because being hollow, they had fitted to the lower part a trumpet or tube which extended to a dark part of the house covered with leaves and branches where there was a person who spoke what the Cacique wanted him to say so far as it could be done with a tube. Whereupon our men having suspected what might be the case, kicked the *cemi* over and found the facts as I have just described. When the Cacique saw that it was discovered by our men he besought them urgently not to say anything to the Indians, his subjects, nor to others because by this deceit he kept them in obedience.

This then we can say, there is some semblance of idolatry, at least among those who do not know the secret and the deception of their Caciques because they believe that the one who speaks is the *cemi*. In general all the people are deceived and the Cacique alone is the one who is conscious of and promotes their false belief by means of which he draws from his people all those tributes as seems good to him. Likewise most of the Caciques have three stones to which they and their

*Ulloa in his Italian gives this word in various forms e. g. *cemi*, *cimi*, *cimini* and *cimiche*. The correct form is *cemi* with the accent on the last syllable. Las Casas says, "Estas—llamaban *cemi*, la ultima silaba luenga y aguda." Docs. Inéditos para la Historia de España, LXVI, 436. The late J. Walter Fewkes published an article with illustrations "On Zemes from Santo Domingo" in the American Anthropologist, IV, 167-175.

peoples pay great reverence. One they say helps the corn and the vegetables that are planted; another the child-bearing of women without pain; and the third helps by means of water (i. e. rain) and the sun when they have need of it. I sent three of these stones to your Highness by Antonio de Torre* and another set of three I have to bring with me.

When these Indians die they have the funerals in different ways. The way the Caciques are buried, is as follows. They open the Cacique and dry him by the fire in order that he may be preserved whole, (or, entirely). Of others they take only the head. Others are buried in a cave and they place above their head a gourd of water and some bread. Others they burn in the house where they die and when they see them on the point of death they do not let them finish their life but strangle them. This is done to the Caciques. Others they drive out of the house; and others they put into a *hamaca*, which is their bed of netting, and put water and bread at their head and leave them alone without returning to see them any more. Some again that are seriously ill they take to the Cacique and he tells them whether they ought to be strangled or not and they do what he commands.

I have taken pains to learn what they believe and if they know where they go after death; especially from Caunabo, who is the chief king in Espaniola, a man of years, of great knowledge and very keen mind; and he and others replied that they go to a certain valley which every principal Cacique believes is situated in his own country, affirming that there they find their father and all their ancestors; and that they eat and have women and give themselves to pleasures and recreation as is more fully contained in the following account in which I ordered one Friar Roman (Ramon) who knew their language to collect all their ceremonies and their antiquities although so much of it is fable that one cannot extract anything fruitful from it beyond the fact that each one of them has a certain natural regard for the future and believes in the immortality of our souls."†

Then follows in Ferdinand's biography a transcript of this "Account by Friar Roman (Ramon) of the Antiquities of the Indians which he as one who knows their language diligently collected by command of the Admiral." Before describing Friar Ramon's work I will present what little information in regard to him that I have been able to find.

The historian Las Casas knew Ramon Pane and tells us in his *Apologetica Historia* that he came to Espaniola at the beginning with the Admiral;‡ which must mean on the

*Antonio de Torre set forth on the return voyage here referred to February 2, 1494. *Historia.* Ed. 1571, folios 125-126.

†Las Casas. *Apologetica Historia.* Docs. Incl. para la Hist. de Espania, LXVI, 435-36.

second voyage in 1493 as there were no clergy on the first voyage. Later he says he came five years before he himself did which would be in 1497.* This second statement is erroneous for Columbus, as has just been seen, reports the result of his labors in his own account of his second voyage which he drew up in 1496. Las Casas also says that Ramon was a Catalan by birth and did not speak Castilian perfectly and that he was a simple-minded man so that what he reported was sometimes confused and of little substance.† The Admiral sent him first into the province of lower Maçorix whose language he knew and then later, because this language was spoken only in a small territory, to the Vega and the region where King Guarionex bore sway where he could accomplish much more because the population was greater and the language diffused throughout the island. He remained there two years and did what he could according to his slender abilities.‡

To Peter Martyr who read and abstracted his treatise, he is merely "One Ramon a hermit whom Colon had left with certain kings of the island to instruct them in the Christian faith. And tarrying there a long time he composed a small book in the Spanish tongue on the rites of the islands."§

These few references are all the contemporary information to be derived about Ramon Pane outside of his own narrative. This little work which I have called the pioneer treatise in American Antiquities has come down to us as a whole, as I have said, only in the Italian translation of Ferdinand Columbus's life of the Admiral. By one of the mishaps of fate the translator transformed the author's name from Ramon Pane into Roman Pane, and under that disguise he appears in most modern works in which he appears at all. But the testimony of Las Casas who knew him and of Peter

*Las Casas *op. cit.* 473.

†Las Casas, *op. cit.* 475.

‡*Ibid.* 436.

§Peter Martyr. *De Rebus Oceanicis.* ed. 1574, p. 102.

Martyr who used his work in Spanish is conclusive that his name was Ramon. Ramon, too, is a common Catalan name. Such few writers on early American religion and folk-lore as use his work directly resort either to the Italian text or some of the translations or to Peter Martyr's epitome in the 9th book of the first of his *Decades of the Ocean*. Few, if any, make a critical comparison of these two forms of his work and none so far as I know have supplemented such a comparison with such of the material in Las Casas's *Apologetica Historia* as was derived from Ramon's work in the original.

The interest and importance of the subject justify it seems to me a critical study of Friar Ramon's work as the earliest detailed account of the legends and religious beliefs and practices of the long since extinct natives of Hayti. The range of its contents is considerable. It contains a cosmogony, a creation legend, an Amazon legend, a legend which offers interesting evidence that syphilis was an indigenous and ancient disease in America at the time of its discovery, a flood and ocean legend, a tobacco legend, a sun and moon legend, a long account of the Haytian medicine men, an account of the making of their *cemis* or fetishes, of the ritualistic use of tobacco, a current native prophecy of the appearance in the island of a race of clothed people and lastly a brief report of the earliest conversions to Christianity in the island and of the first native martyrs.

To facilitate a study of this material in its earliest record I have translated Ramon's treatise from the Italian, excerpted and collated with it the epitomes of Peter Martyr and Las Casas and have prepared brief notes, the whole to form so far as may be a critical working text of this source for the folklorist and student of Comparative Religion in America. The proper names in each case are given as in the 1571 edition of the *Historie*. Later editions of the Italian and the English version to be found in Churchill's *Voyages* (vol. II.) and Pinkerton's *Voyages* (Vol. XII) give divergent

forms. At best the spelling of these names offers much perplexity. Ramon wrote down in Spanish the sounds he heard, Ferdinand, unfamiliar with the sounds, copied the names and then still later Ulloa equally unfamiliar with the originals copied them into his Italian. In such a process there was inevitably some confusion of u and n and of u and v, (Spanish b.) In the Italian text v is never used, it is always u. In not a few cases the Latin of Peter Martyr and the Spanish of Las Casas give us forms much nearer those used by Ramon than the Italian.

LIST OF MODERN WORKS DEALING DIRECTLY
WITH THE TREATISE OF RAMON PANE OR
PARTICULARLY SERVICEABLE IN THE
STUDY OF IT.

BACHILLER Y MORALES, ANTONIO. *Cuba Primitiva: Origen, Lenguas, Tradiciones e Historia de los Indios de las Antillas Mayores y las Lucayas.* 2nd. Ed. Habana, 1883. The fullest study of the subject with full vocabularies of extant aboriginal words and a dictionary of historical names and traditions. Contains also a translation of the part of Ramon Pane's treatise that relates to primitive religion and folklore.

BASTIAN, ADOLF. *Die Culturländer des Alten America.* 2 vols. Berlin, 1878. The second vol. with the sub-title, *Beiträge zu Geschichtlichen Vorarbeiten auf Westlicher Hemisphäre*, devotes a chapter, pp. 285-314 to the Antilles. It consists of rough notes assembled from Ramon Pane and Peter Martyr and other writers relating to the religion and folklore of the aborigines of the Antilles.

BLOCH, DR. IWAN. *Der Ursprung der Syphilis. Eine medizinische und Kulturgechichtliche Untersuchung.* Erste Abteilung, Jena, 1901. An elaborate critical and historical study which definitely establishes the American origin of Syphilis. The evidence from Ramon Pane is discussed on pp. 201-204.

DOUAY, LEON. *Affinités lexicologiques du Haïtien et du Maya.* Congrès International des Américanistes. Compte Rendu de la 10^{ème} session. Stockholm 1897, pp. 193-206. Reproduces in parallel columns with the corresponding Maya words the Haytian vocabulary compiled by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg.

DOUAY, LEON. *Études Étymologiques sur L'Antiquité Américaine.* Paris, 1891. Etymological interpretation of proper names in Hayti and the non-Carib Antilles, pp. 26-30.

EHRENREICH, PAUL. *Die Mythen und Legenden der Südamerikanischen Urvölker und ihre Beziehungen zu denen Nordamerikas und der alten Welt.* Berlin 1895. Supplement zu Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 1905. The author of this very valuable introduction to the comparative study of American Mythology has used Ramon Pane only in Peter Martyr's abstract.

GILLI, FILIPPO SALVADORE. *Saggio di Storia Americana o sia storia Natural, Civile, e sacra de regni e delle provincie Spagnuole di Terraferma nell' America Meridionale.* Roma MDCCCLXXXII, 3 Vols. In vol. 3, pp. 220-228 is a vocabulary of the Haytian language compiled from Oviedo, Peter Martyr (Ramon Pane) Acosta and other writers. This vocabulary is sometimes reproduced by later writers with revisions.

LOLLIS, CESARE DE, ED. *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi.* Pub. dalla R. Commissione Colombiana, etc. Roma, 1892. Parte I, vol. 1, 213-223 contains text of Ulloa's Italian translation of Ramon Pane with an *apparatus criticus*.

MARTIUS, DR. CARL F. PH. V. *Beiträge sur Ethnographie und Sprachkunde Amerika's sumal Brasiliens.* 2 vols. Leipzig, 1867. Vol. II, pp. 314-18, contains a Latin-Taino vocabulary based chiefly on Rafinesque's collections.

MONTEJO Y ROBLEDO, DR. BONIFACIO. *Procedencia Americana de las Bubas.* Actas del Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, 4^a Reunión. Madrid, 1881, pp. 334-419. Evidence from Ramon Pane discussed pp. 358, 360.

MUELLER, J. G. *Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen.* Basel, 1855. pp. 155-185 are devoted to the religion of the non-Carib aborigines of the West Indies.

PESCHEL, OSCAR. *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen,* 2^a Aufl. Stuttgart, 1877. On pp. 147-48 the cosmogony of the Haytians is briefly described.

RAFINESQUE, C. S. *The American Nations; or Outlines of their General History, Ancient and Modern, etc., etc.* Philadelphia, 1836, pp. 162-260. Interesting linguistic material with much highly fantastic conjecture.

TREATISE OF FRIAR RAMON* ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE INDIANS WHICH HE AS ONE WHO KNOWS THEIR LANGUAGE DILIGENTLY COLLECTED BY COMMAND OF THE ADMIRAL.

I Friar Ramon a poor Hermit of the Order of St. Jerome by command of the illustrious lord, the Admiral and Viceroy and governor of the Islands and of the main land of the Indies, write this which I have been able to learn and to know of the belief and idolatry of the Indians and how they worship their gods. Of which matters I shall give an account in the present treatise.

Each one in praying to the idols which he has in his house, and which are called by them cemist† worships in his own fashion and superstition.

They hold that he is (as) in heaven immortal and that no one can see him, and that he has a mother and that he had no beginning, and this [god] they call Iocahuuague Maorocon,‡ and his mother they call Atabei, Iermaoguacar, Apito and Zuimaco which are five names.§ Those of whom

*The correct form of the name has been substituted for the common form Roman.

†Cemini is the form used in the text and may have been invented by Ulloa as an Italian plural. Las Casas writes: "These they generally call *Cemis* the last syllable long with the acute accent" Docs. Inéd. de España. LXVI, 436.

‡Las Casas, *op. cit.* 434, gives the name Yocahu Vague Maorocoti. It differs only in the last syllable from the Italian text which may be rewritten as Jocahu vague Maorocoon. Peter Martyr has Iocaua Guamaonocoon. This has been accepted by modern writers as the correct form e. g. Bachiller of Morales. *Cuba Primitiva*, 167 and Léon, Douay, *Etudes Étymologiques*, 27. As Las Casas lived many years in Espaⁿola, his authority should be carefully considered. Las Casas, *op. cit.* p. 475 mentions a Cemí whose name was Yocahuguama.

§Peter Martyr gives the five names as Attabeira, Mamona, Guacaripita, Liella and Guimasoa. The Italian text of Ramon is here apparently corrupt as it gives only four names and calls them five, Liella is omitted from the list and the first three of the names is given by Peter Martyr, Attabeira, Mamona, Guacaripita appear as Attabeir, Iermasoguacar, Apito. Apparently in Ramon's MS. the second name was very illegible. By dividing the names differently we see that the trouble mainly lies there.

Attabeira, Mamóna, Guacaripita,

ra | mamóna | guacar, Apito,

Attabeir, Ier | mao | guacar, Apito,

Las Casas read it. "Atabex y un hermano Guaca" conjecturing that what Ulloa copied as *Iermao* was *hermano*, "brother." The whole passage is "The people of this island of Espaⁿola had an assured faith and knowledge of one true and only God who was immortal and invisible, whom no one can see, who had no beginning

I write this are of the island Espa^ñola; because of the other islands I know nothing never having seen them. Likewise they know from what direction they came and whence the sun had his origin and the moon and how the sea was made and whither the dead go. And they believe that the dead appear on the roadways when one goes alone, wherefore when many go together they do not appear to them. All this those who have gone before have made them believe, because these people know not how to read or to count beyond ten.

CHAPTER I.

From what direction the Indians have come and in what manner.

Espa^ñola has a province called Caanau* in which there is a mountain which is called Canta† where there are two caves, the one named Cacibagiagua and the other Amaiua.‡ From Cacibagiagua came forth the larger part of the people who settled in the island. When people were in these caves watch was kept by night and the care of this was given to one whose name was Marocael;§ and him, because one day he delayed to come back to the door, the sun carried off. And when it was seen that the sun had carried him off they closed the door; and so he was changed into stone near the door. Next they say that others going off to fish were taken by the sun and they became trees, called by them Iobi,|| and otherwise they are called mirabolans. The reason why Marocael kept watch and stood guard was to watch in what direction he wished to send or to divide the people, and it seems that he delayed to his own greater hurt.

whose dwelling place and habitation is heaven, and they named him Yocahu Vagua Macrocoti. . . . With this true and catholic knowledge of the true God they mingled these errors to wit, that God had a mother and her brother Guaco and others of this sort." *Doce. Ined.* LXVI. 434.

*Caunana in Peter Martyr.

†Cauts in Peter Martyr, and the correct form.

‡Casibaxagua and Amaiua in Peter Martyr who says in Decade vii, chap 8, that in the ancestral lore of the Haytians the island was viewed as a great monster of the female sex and that the great cave of Guacsaicarima was her organs of generation—Cf. Peschel, *Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, 147 and Ehrenreich, *Die Mythen und Legenden der Südamerikanischen Urvölker*, 33.

§Machochael in Peter Martyr. This is apparently the correct form. Cf. Bachiller y Morales, 315.

||Iobo (Jobo, or hobo). The name of this tree and fruit is still in use in Santo Domingo, Bachiller y Morales, 300.

CHAPTER II.

How the men were divided from the women.

It came to pass that one man whose name was Guagugiona* said to another whose name was Giadruuau,† that he should go to gather an herb called *digo* with which they cleanse the body when they go to wash themselves. He went before day, (but) the sun seized him on the way and he became a bird which sings in the morning like the nightingale and is called Giahuba Bagiel. Guagugiona seeing that he whom he had sent to gather the *digo* did not return resolved to go out of the cave Cacibagiagua.

CHAPTER III.

That Guagugiona resolved to go away in anger, seeing that those whom he had sent to gather the *digo* for washing themselves did not return; and he said to the women "Leave your husbands and let us go into other lands and we will carry off enough jewels. Leave your sons and we will carry only the plants with us and then we will return for them."

CHAPTER IV.

Guagugiona set forth with all the women and went off in search of other lands, and came to Matinino,‡ where he left the women; and he went away into another region called Guanin and they had left the little children near a brook. Then when hunger began to trouble them, it is related, that they wailed and called upon their mothers who had gone off; and the fathers were not able to give help to the children calling in hunger for their mothers, saying "mama" as if to speak, but really asking for the breast.§ And wailing in this fashion and asking for the breast, saying "too, too,"|| as one who asks for something with great longing, and very urgently, they were changed into little animals,

*Vaguonions in Peter Martyr. Bachiller y Morales, thinks the proper form is Guagonions. See his discussion of this and the two following names, *Cuba Primitiva*, 275.

†This name is omitted in Peter Martyr.

‡Usually identified with Martinique. This passage is convincing evidence that the Amazon legends in America were indigenous and not transmitted there or developed by the misapprehensions of the first discoverers. Ehrenreich is convinced that these legends are indigenous although he does not refer to this evidence. See his *Mythen und Legenden*, 65. Columbus early and frequently heard of the island of Matinino which was inhabited only by women.

§*La tetta*, Apparently the Italian text, used by the translator of the English version of the *Historie* read "*la terra*" in this passage for it is there rendered "to beg of the earth"!||

||Toa, toa, in Peter Martyr.

after the fashion of dwarfs* (frogs) which are called Tona† because of their asking for the breast, and that in this way all the men were left without women.

CHAPTER V.

And later on another occasion women went there from the said Island Espaniola, which formerly was called Aiti, and is so called by its inhabitants; and these and other islands they called Bouhi.‡ And because they have no writing nor letters they cannot give a good account of what they have learned from their forbears; and therefore they do not agree in what they say, nor can what they relate be recorded in an orderly fashion.

When Guahagiona went away, he that carried away all the women, he likewise took with him the women of his Cacique whose name was Anacacuia, deceiving him as he deceived the others; and, moreover, a brother-in-law of Guahagiona Anacacuia, § who went off with him went on the sea; and Guahagiona said to his brother-in-law, being in the canoe, see what a fine *cobo* is there in the water and this *cobo* is the sea snail, and him peering into the water to see the *cobo* Guahagiona his brother-in-law seized by the feet and cast into the sea; and so he took all the women for himself, and he left those of Matinino (i. e. at Matinino) where it is reported there are no people but women to-day. And he went off to another island which is called Guanin,|| and it received this name on account of what he took away from it when he went away.

CHAPTER VI.

That Guahagiona returned to Canta, (Cauta) mentioned above, whence he had taken the women. They say that being in the land whence he had gone Guahagiona saw that he had left in the sea one woman, and that he was greatly pleased with her and straightway sought out many washes (or washing places) to wash himself being full of those sores which we call the French disease.¶ She then put him in a *Guanara*

**Nane*. The correct reading is *rane*, "frog," as appears in Peter Martyr and from the context.

†Ulloa's misreading *rane* as *nane* may have misled him in the latter part of the sentence. The version in Peter Martyr makes much better sense. Bachiller y Morales, questions the existence of such a word as *Tona*, p. 343. Brasseur de Bourbourg conjectured that *Tos* may have meant "frog" as well as "breast."

‡Apparently in the sense of homes or dwelling places. *Buhi* or *Bohio* ordinarily means cabin.

§The punctuation follows the text of the original. Perhaps it should be Guahagiona, Anacacuia, making the second name that of the brother-in-law.

||*Guanas* means an inferior kind of gold.

¶That Ramon Pane, before 1496, should have recorded this legend of the culture hero Guahagiona (Guagugiona, Vaguioniona) is conclusive evidence that Syphilis had existed in the West Indies long before the arrival of the Spaniards—Cf. Iwan Bloch *Der Ursprung der Syphilis*, 202-205. The name *mal Francés* is no doubt Ulloa's translation of *las bolas*, the Spanish name of the disease.

which means a place apart; and so he was healed of these sores. Then she asked permission of him to go on her way and he gave it to her. This woman was named Guabonito; and Guahagiona changed his name and thenceforward he was called Biberoci Guahagiona. And the woman Guabonito gave Biberoci Guahagiona many *guaninas** and many *cibet* to wear tied on his arms. Because in those countries *colecibi* are of stones like marble and they wear them tied on the arms and on the neck and the *guaninas* they wear in the ears making holes when they are children; and they are of metal as it were of a florin. And the beginnings (the originators) of these guaninas they say were Guabonito, Albeborael, Guahagiona, and the father of Albeborael. Guahagiona remained in the land with his father whose name was Hiauna, his grandson (figliuolo) on his father's side (i. e. Guahagiona's son) was named Hia Guaili Guanin which means grandson of Hiauna; and thence thereafter he was called Guanin and is so called to-day. And since they have no letters nor writings they cannot relate well such fables nor can I write them well. Wherefore I believe I shall put down first what should be last and last what should be first. But all that I write is related by them as I write it and so I set it forth as I have understood it from the people of the country.

CHAPTER VII.

How there were women again in the island of Aiti which is now called Espaniola.

They say that one day the men went off to bathe and being in the water, it rained heavily, and that they were very desirous of having women, and that oftentimes when it rained, they had gone to search for the traces of their women nor had been able to find any news of them, but that on that day while bathing, they say, they saw fall down from some trees and hiding in the branches a certain kind of persons that were not men nor women nor had the natural parts of the male or female. They went to take them but they fled away as if they had been eagles, § (eels) wherefore they called two or three men by the order of their cacique, since they were not able to take them for him in order they they might watch to see how many there were and that they might seek out for each one a man who was *Caracaracol* because they have their hands rough, and that so they held (could hold) them tightly. They told the Cacique that there were four, and so they brought four men who were Caracaracoli. This *Caracaracol* is a disease like scab which makes the body very rough. After they had caught them they took counsel

*Jewels of guanin.

†Beads.

‡Strings of beads. Bachiller y Morales, 251.

§Aguile. Read *anguille*, "eels." A mistake of the translator Ulloa. Peter Martyr has *anguillae* which is undoubtedly the right word.

together over them what they could do to make them women since they did not have the natural parts of male or female.

CHAPTER VIII.

How they found a device to make them women.

They sought a bird which is called Inriri, in ancient times Inrire Cahuuaial, which bores trees and in our language is called woodpecker (pico). And likewise they took these women without male or female organs and bound their feet and hands and took this bird just mentioned and bound him to the body and he thinking that they were logs began to do his accustomed task pecking and boring in the place where the natural parts of women are wont to be. In this fashion, then, the Indians say that they had women according to what the oldest men relate.* Since I wrote in haste and did not have paper enough I could not put down in its place that which by mistake I transferred to another place, but notwithstanding that I have in reality made no mistake since they believe it all as has been written.

Let us turn now to that which we should have recorded first, i. e. their belief as to the origin and beginning of the sea.

CHAPTER IX.

How they say the sea was made.

There was a man called Giaia† whose name they do not know and his son called Giaiael which means son of Giaia. This Giaiael wishing to slay his father, he sent him into exile where he remained banished four months, and then his father slew him and put his bones in a gourd and fastened it on the roof of his cabin where it remained fastened some time. And it came to pass that one day Giaia, longing to see his son, said to his wife, "I want to see our son Giaiel; and she was pleased at that; and he took down the gourd and turned it over to see the bones of his son, and from it came forth many fishes large and small. Wherefore, seeing that the bones were changed into fishes they resolved to eat them. One day, therefore, they say that Giaia having gone to his *Conichi*‡, which means his lands that were his inheritance there came four sons of a woman whose name was Itiba Tahuuaua, all from one womb and twins; and this woman having died in travail they opened her and drew out these for sons, and the first that they drew out was Caracaracol which means scabby. This Caracaracol had the name §. The others had no name.

*Cf. Ehrenreich, *Mythen und Legenden*, 56 for some analogous legends.

†Iaia in Peter Martyr.

‡Used by Ulloa as an Italian plural of the Haytian *conuco*, garden plot or farm.

§Dimiuau is apparently the name omitted; see next chapter.

CHAPTER X.

When the four sons, all born together, of Itiba Tahuuaua who died in travail with them, went to lay hold of the gourd of Giaia where his son Agiael* was who was changed into a fish; and none of them ventured to lay hands on it except Dimiuan Caracaracol who took it from its place and all satisfied themselves with fish; and while they were eating they perceived that Giaia was coming from his farms, and wishing, in this haste to fasten the gourd to its place again they did not fasten it well and so it fell to the ground and broke. They say that so great was the mass of water that came out of the gourd that it filled the whole earth, and with it issued many fish, and from this according to their account the sea had its beginning. These then departed from thence and found a man whose name was Conel and he was dumb.

CHAPTER XI.

Of the things which befel the four brothers when they fled from Giaia.

Now these (brothers) as soon as they came to the door of Bassamanaco and perceived that he carried Cazzabi,† said, "Ahiacauo Guarocoel" which means "let us know this our grandfather." In like manner, Demiuan Caracaracol seeing his brothers before him went within to see if he could have some Cazzabi. And this Cazzabi is the bread that is eaten in the country. Caracaracol having entered the house of Aiamausaco‡ asked him for Cazzabi which is the bread above mentioned; and he put his hand on his own nose and threw at him a *guanguaio*§ hitting him in the back. This *guanguaio* was full of *cogioba*|| which he had had made that day; the *cogioba* is a certain powder which they take sometimes to purge themselves, and for other effects which you will hear of later. They take it with a cane about a foot long and put one end in the nose and the other in the powder, and in this manner they draw it into themselves through the nose and this purges them thoroughly. And thus he gave him that *guanguaio* for bread, . . . ¶ and went off much enraged because they asked him for it.

*Giaiel.

†Cassava.

‡This name seems to be compounded of part of Bassamanaco and Ahiacauo. Bachiller y Morales in his version substitutes the latter for it in the form Ayacauo.

§Defined by Brasseur de Bourbourg, as a bag for holding tobacco.

||Tobacco. Las Casas uses the form *Cohoba*. On the various native words for tobacco see a valuable art, by Dr. A. Ernst. *On the Etymology of the word Tobacco*. The American Anthropologist, II, 133-141 (1889).

¶"E Cirtose pan." These words I have not been able to explain.

Caracaracol after this returned to his brothers and told them what had happened to him with Baiamanicoel* and of the blow that he hit him with the *guanguacio* on one shoulder and that it pained him very much. Then his brothers looked at his shoulder and saw that it was much swollen. And this swelling increased so much that he was like to die of it. Wherefore they tried to cut it and could not; and taking a stone axe they opened it and there came out a live turtle, a female; and so they built their cabin and cared for the turtle. Of this I have not heard (or understood) anything else, and what we have written was of little profit. And further they say that the sun and the moon came out of a cave which is situated in the country of a cacique named Maucia Tiuei† and the name of the cave is Giououaua‡ and they hold it in high regard, and it is all painted in their fashion without any figure, with many leaves and other things of that sort, and in this cave there are two *cemis*, of stone, small about a foot high with their hands tied, and they looked as if they sweated. These *cemis* they hold in great regard, and when it did not rain they say they went there to visit them and suddenly it rained. And one of these *cemis* is called by them Boinaiei§ and the other Maroio.||

CHAPTER XII.

What they think as to how the dead go wandering about and as to what manner of folk they are and what they do.

They believe that there is a place whither the dead go which is called Coaibai and lies in a part of the island called Soria.|| The first man that was in Coaibai was, they relate, one whose name was Machetaurie-Guaiaua, who was the lord of this Coaibai, the home and dwelling place of the dead.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the shape which they say the dead are.

They say that during the day they are shut in, and by night they go out to walk; and they eat of a certain fruit which is called *guabazza*** which has the flavor of (the Quince)†† That by day they are

*Still another variant of the name Bassa-Manaco.

†Machinnech in Peter Martyr. Bachiller y Morales thinks the form in the text should be Mansia Tiunel.

‡Iouanaboina in Peter Martyr.

§Binthaitel in Peter Martyr.

||Marohu in Peter Martyr.

||Soria means "west", Bachiller y Morales.

**Guannaba in Peter Martyr and apparently the correct form. Bachiller y Morales identifies it with the fruit called Guanabana.

††The gap in the Italian text has been supplied from Peter Martyr.

and at night they are changed into fruit,* and they have feasts and go with the living, and to know them they follow this practice, they touch their belly and if they do not find the navel they say that he is *operito* which means dead. Because they say the dead have no navel. And so sometimes they are deceived when they do not give heed to this; and they lie with some woman from Comboi, (Coaibai)† and when they think they have them in their arms, they have nothing because they disappear in a trice. This belief they hold in this matter to the present day. If the person is alive they call the spirit Goeis, and after death they call (it) Opia. The Goeis they say appears often both in the form of a man and in the form of a woman. And they say that there was a man that wished to contend with it, and that clinching it, it disappeared, and that the man thrust out his arms in another direction over some trees to which he hung. And this they all believe both small and great and that it appears to them in the form of father or mother, or brothers or parents and in other forms. The fruit which they say the dead eat is of the size of a quince.

These dead do not appear to them in the day time, but always by night, and therefore with much fear do they venture to go forth alone at night.

CHAPTER XIV.

Whence they derive this and who keeps it in such credit.

There are some men who practise among them and are called Bohuti;‡ and these go through many deceits as we shall relate further, to make them believe that they talk with those (spirits) and that they know everything that is done and their secrets; and that when they are ill they take away the evil; and thus they deceive them, because I have seen part of it with my own eyes, although of the other things I will relate only what I have heard from many especially from the principal men with whom I have had to do more than with others; because these believe such fables more firmly than the others; because like the Moors they have their laws reduced to ancient songs;§ by which they are ruled as the Moors are by their scripture. And when they wish to sing these songs of theirs, they play upon a certain instrument which is called *maiohasus*,|| which is of wood and hollow, strongly made and very thin, an ell long and a half an ell in breadth, and the part where it is played is made in the shape of the pincers of a farrier, and the other

*The repetition here of the first sentence with a variation altogether irreconcilable with the context shows that the text is corrupt.

†Bachiller y Morales thus corrects the text.

‡Boitius in Peter Martyr and *bohique* and *boisque* in Las Casas, see Docs. Inéd. LXVI. 436, 438.

§Oviedo gives an account of these *areyos* as they were called.

||Brasseur de Bourbourg gives this word as *Maioasuan* and defines it as a sort of drum.

part is like a club. It looks like a gourd with a long neck; and they play this instrument, which has so loud a sound that it is heard a league and a half. To this sound they sing the songs which they learn by heart; and the principal men play it who have learned from childhood to sound it and to sing by it according to their custom. Let us now pass on to treat of many things relating to other ceremonies and customs of these heathen.

CHAPTER XV.

The observances of these Indian Buhuitihu, (Bohuti) and how they practice medicine and teach the people and in their cures they are oftentimes themselves taken in.

All or the majority of the people of the island of Espafiola have many *cemis* of different kinds. One has the bones of his father and his mother, and kindred and ancestors; (and there are others) which are made of stone or of wood. And many have them of both kinds; some (those) which speak; and others (those) which make the things grow which they eat; and others which bring rain; and others which make the winds blow. These simple-minded ignorant people believe these idols, or to speak more fittingly these devils, do these things not having knowledge of our holy faith. When one is ill they bring the *Buhuitihu* (Bohuti) to him as a physician. The physician is obliged to abstain from food like the sick man himself and to play the part of sick man which is done in this way which you will now hear. He must needs purge himself like the sick man and to purge himself he takes a certain powder called *cohoba** snuffing it up his nose which intoxicates them so that they do not know what they do and in this condition they speak many things incoherently in which they say they are talking with the *cemis* and that by them they are informed how the sickness came upon him.

CHAPTER XVI.

What these Buhuitihu, (Bohuti) do.

When they go to visit a sick man before they set out from their cabins they take some soot from pots or pounded charcoal and blacken the face to make the sick man believe what seems good to them as to his ailment; and then they take some small bones and a little flesh and wrapping it all together in something so that it won't drop, put it in the mouth, the sick man having been already purged with the powder as we have said. The physician then goes into the cabin of the sick man and sits down and all are silent; and if there are children there, they put them out in order that they may not hinder the Buhuitihu (Bohuti) in his duties; nor does any one remain in the cabin except one or two of the principal men.

*Tobacco.

And thus being alone they take some herbs of the Gioia* . . . broad and another herb wrapped in a leaf of an onion half a quarter long; and one of the above-mentioned Gioia, is what they all usually take. And crumbling it with their hands they make a paste of it and then put it in their mouths by night to make them vomit what they have eaten, in order that it may not hurt them; and then they begin to sing the above-mentioned song. And lighting a torch they take that juice. This done at the beginning, and waiting somewhat the Buhuitihu (Bohuti) rises and goes toward the sick man who is seated in the middle of his cabin as has been said and turns him around twice as he pleases. Then he stands before him and takes him by the legs feeling his thighs and running his hands down to his feet, then he draws him hard as if he wished to pull something off; then he goes to the entrance of the cabin and closes the door, and speaks saying "Begone to the mountains, or to the sea or whither thou wilt," and blowing like one who blows in winnowing he turns around again and puts his hands together and closes his mouth and his hand shake as if he were very cold, and he blows on his hands and then draws in his breath again like one who is sucking the marrow from a bone and he sucks the sick man on the neck, on the stomach, shoulders, jaws, breasts, belly and many other parts of the body. This done they begin to cough and to make faces as if they had eaten something bitter, and he spits into his hand and draws out that which we mentioned which he had put in his mouth either at his own cabin or on the way, either a stone or meat or a bone, as has been said. And if it is anything eatable, he says to the sick man, "Take notice! You have eaten something which has brought on this illness which you suffer from. See how I have taken out of your body what your *cemi* had put in your body because you did not say your prayers to him or did not build him some temple or give him something from your possessions." And if it is a stone he says, "keep it safe." And sometimes they are convinced that these stones are good, and that they help women in labor, and they keep it very carefully wrapped in cotton in little baskets and give them to eat what they eat themselves, and they do the same to the *cemis* which they have in their cabins. Upon solemn days when they bring out much to eat either fish, meat, or bread or anything else, they put everything in the cabin of the *cemis* that the idol may eat of it.

The next day they take all this food to their own cabins after the *cemi* has eaten. And so may God help them if the *cemi* eats of that; or of anything else, the said *cemi* being a dead thing made of stone or wood.

*Bachiller y Morales thinks the word a textual error for the form *cogioia* used above, ch. xi, yet see below ch. xvii where it is described and another name *Zachon* is mentioned.

CHAPTER XVII.

How sometimes these physicians are deceived.

When they have done what has been described and still the sick man dies, if the dead man has many relatives or was lord of a village (castella) and can resist the said *Buhuitihu* (Bohuti) which means physician, (because those who have little power do not venture to contend with these physicians) he who wishes to do harm to him does this. Wanting to know if the sick man died through the fault of the physician or whether he did not do what was prescribed, they take an herb called *gueio* which has leaves like basil, thick and broad (and it is called also another name Zachon.) They take the juice of this leaf and cut the nails of the dead man and cut off the hair on his forehead, and they make powder (of them) between two stones, which they mix with the juice of the aforesaid herb, and they pour it into the dead man's mouth or his nose and so doing they ask the dead man if the physician was the cause of his death, and if he had followed the regimen (or diet). And they ask him this several times until he speaks as plainly as if he were alive, so that he answers all that they ask of him, saying that the *Buhuitihu* (Bohuti) did not follow the regimen, or was the cause of his death that time. And they say the physician asks him if he is alive or how it is that he speaks so plainly; and he answers that he is dead. And when they have learned what they want, they return him to his grave from which they took him to learn from him what we have described. They also proceed in another way to learn what they want. They take the dead man and build a big fire, like that with which a charcoal-burner makes charcoal, and when the wood is become live coals they place the body into this great fiery mass and then cover it with earth as the charcoal-burner covers charcoal and here they let it lie as long as they please. And as it lies there they ask him questions as has already been said of the other method. And he replies that he knows nothing and they ask him this ten times and then he speaks no more. They ask him if he is dead; but he does not speak more than these ten times.

CHAPTER XVIII.

How the relatives of the dead man take vengeance when they have received an answer by means of the drench.

The relatives of the dead man get together some day and wait for the *Buhuitihu* (Bohuti) and beat him with clubs till they break his legs, his arms and his head so that they fairly Bray him as in a mortar, and they leave him in that condition believing that they have killed him. And they say that by night there come many snakes of different kinds which lick the face and the whole body of this physician who has been

left for dead as we said and who remains so for two or three days. And while he stays there in that condition they say that the bones of his legs and arms unite and knit together and he gets up and walks leisurely in the direction of his cabin. And those that see him ask him saying: "Were you not dead?" and he answers that the *cemis* came to his assistance in the form of snakes. And the relatives of the dead man, greatly enraged, because they thought they had avenged the death of their relative, seeing him alive grow desperate and try to lay hands on him to put him to death; and if they get hold of him again they gouge out his eyes and crush his testicles, because they say that none of these can die no matter how much he is beaten if they do not take away his testicles.

How they learn what they want from him they burn and how they take vengeance.

When they uncover the fire the smoke that comes from it rises till they lose sight of it, and it gives forth a shrill cry as it comes from the furnace, then turns down and enters the cabin of the *Buhuitihu*, (Bohuti) or physician, and that very moment he falls sick if he did not follow the diet (or regimen) and he is covered with sores and his whole body peels, and thus they have a sign that such a one did not observe the diet and that therefore the sick man died. Wherefore they try to kill him as has been described in the case of the other.

These then are the spells which they are wont to use.

CHAPTER XIX.

How they make and keep *cemis* of wood and stone.

Those of stone (wood?) are made in this fashion. When someone is going along on a journey he says he sees a tree which is moving its roots; and the man in a great fright stops and asks: "Who is it?" And he replies "My name is *Buhuitihu*,"* and he will tell you who I am." And the man goes to the physician and tells him what he has seen; and the enchanter or wizard runs immediately to see the tree which the man has told him of and sits down by it, and he makes *cogioiba* as we have described above in the story of the four.† And when the *cogioiba* is made he stands up on his feet and gives it all its titles as if it were some great lord, and he asks it: "Tell me who you are and what you are doing here and what you want of me and why you have had me called. Tell me if you want me to cut you or if you want to come with me, and how you want me to carry you, and I will build you a cabin and add a property to it." Then

*The text is erroneous. It should be "Call the Bohuti" as appears from Las Casas's quotation of the same passage Docs. Inéd. LXVI, 436.

†See above ch. xi. Las Casas describes in detail the process of "making cohoba" which he says he had seen many times. Docs. Inéd. LXVI, 469-71.

that tree or *cemi* becomes an idol or devil, replies to him telling him the shape in which it wants to be made. And he cuts and makes it in the shape it has directed; builds its house for it, and gives the property and many times in the year makes *cogioba* for it. This *cogioba* is to pray to it and to please it and to ask and to learn some things from the *cemi*, either evil or good, and in addition to ask it for wealth. And when they want to know if they will be victorious over their enemies they go into a cabin into which no one else goes except the principal men; and their chief is the first who begins to make *cogioba*, and to make a noise; and while he is making *cogioba*, no one of them who is in the company says anything till the chief has finished; but when he has finished his prayer, he stands a while with his head turned (down) and his arms on his knees; then he lifts his head up and looks toward the sky and speaks. Then they all answer him with a loud voice, and when they have all spoken giving thanks, he tells the vision that he has seen intoxicated with the *cogioba* which he has inhaled through his nose, which goes up into his head. And he says that he has talked with the *cemi* and that they are to have a victory; or that his enemies will fly; or that there shall be a great loss of life, or wars or famine or some other such things which occur to him who is intoxicated to say. Consider what a state their brains are in, because they say the cabins seem to them to be turned upside down and that men are walking with their feet in the air.

And this *cogioba* they make for *cemis* of stone and of wood as well as for the dead as we have described above.

The stone *cemis* are of several kinds. There are some which they say the physicians draw from the body and the sick believe these are the best to help women with child to be delivered. There are others that speak which are shaped like a large turnip with the leaves spread on and as long as caper bushes. These leaves generally are shaped like an elm leaf; others have three points, and they believe that they make the *Giucca* (*Yucca*?) to grow. Their roots are like a radish. The leaf of the *giudola* for the most part has six or seven points. I do not know with what to compare it because I have never seen anything like it in Spain or in other countries. The stalk of the *giucca* is as tall as a man. Let us now speak of their belief relating to the idols and *cemis* and of their great delusions derived from them.

CHAPTER XX.

Of the Cemi, Bugia and Aiba,* of which they relate that when there were wars he was burnt by them and then washing him with the juice of the *giucca* his arms grew again and his eyes were made anew and his body grew again.

The *giucca* was small and with water and with juice as mentioned above they washed it in order that it should become big. And they say that

*Alternate names of Bairdrama mentioned just below.

it made those ill who had made this *cemi* because they did not bring it *giuca* to eat. This *cemi* was named Baidrama;* and when some one was sick they called the *Buhuitihu* (Bohuti) and asked him whence came this illness; and he replied that Baidrama had sent it because they had not sent him (something) to eat by those who had charge of his cabin. This the *Buhuitihu* (Bohuti) said the *cemi* Baidrama had told him.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the *cemi* of Guamorete.

They say that when they built the house of Guamorete who was a principal man, they put there a *cemi* that he had on top of his house. This *cemi* was called Corocote; and once when they had wars, the enemies of Guamorete burned the house where this *cemi* Corocote was. At that time they relate that he rose up and went away a cross-bowshot from that place to near a water. And they say that when he was above the house by night he came down and lay with the women, and that then Guamorete died, and that this *cemi* came into the hands of another cacique and that he continued to lie with the women. And they say, besides, that two crowns grew on his head. Wherefore they said: (of some one) "Since he has two crowns, certainly he is the son of Corocote." This they believed very positively. This *cemi* came into the possession later of another cacique named Guatabanex and his place was named Giacaba.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of another *cemi* whose name was Opigielguouiran,† and a principal man had him whose name was Cauauaniouaua, and he had many subjects.

This *cemi* Opigielguouiran, they say, had four feet like a dog's, and he was of wood, and that oftentimes by night he went out of the house into the woods whither they went to seek him, and when he was brought back to the house they bound him with cords; but he went away again to the woods.

And when the Christians came to this island of Espaniola they say that he broke away and went into a swamp and that they followed his tracks but never saw him nor do they know anything about him. I deliver this just as I received it.

*Las Casas, LXVI, 471, gives this name as Vaybrama. His versión of the story is clearer than the Italian text of Ramon Pane.

†Epileguanita in Peter Martyr. Accepted by Bachiller y Morales as undoubtedly the proper form, the name in the text being obviously corrupted.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of another *cemi* called Guabancex.

This *cemi* Guabancex was in the country of a great cacique, one of the chief ones, named Aumatex. This *cemi* is a woman and they say there are two others in her company. One is a crier, the other the gatherer or governor of the waters. And when Guabancex is angry, they say, that she raises the wind and brings rain, and throws down houses and shakes the trees. This *cemi* they say is a woman and was made of stone of that country. The other two *cemis* that are with her are named, the one Guatauua, and is a crier or proclaimer and by order of Guabancex makes proclamation that all the other *cemis* of that province shall help raise a high wind and bring a heavy rain. The other is named Coatrischie who, they relate, gathers the water into the valleys between the mountains and then lets them loose to destroy the country. This they are positive about.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of what they believe about another *cemi* named Faraguuaol.* This *cemi* belongs to a principal cacique in the island of Espaniola, and is an idol, and they ascribe to him several names and he was found as you will now hear.

They say that one day in the past before the island was discovered they know not how long ago, when going hunting they found a certain animal and they ran after it and it broke away into a ditch. And looking for it they saw a beam which seems alive. Thereupon the hunter, seeing it, ran to his lord who was a cacique and the father of Guaracionel and told him what he had seen. They went there and found the thing as the hunter had said. And they took the log and built a house for it. And they say that it went out of the house several times and went to the place whence they had brought it, not exactly to the same place but near there; because the lord just mentioned or his son Guaracionel sent out to seek it they found it hidden; and that another time they bound it and put it in a sack, and notwithstanding it was bound in this way it went off as before. And this (story) this ignorant people accept as a positive certainty.

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the things which they say were uttered by two of the leading caciques of the island of Espaniola; the one named Cassiuaque, father of the above-mentioned Guaracionel; the other Gamanacoel.

*Bachiller y Morales thinks this name should be written Taragabaol.

And (to) that great lord who they say is in heaven, as in the beginning of the book is written, (they say of) this Caizzihu,* that he there made a fast which all of them keep together, for they are shut up six or seven days without eating anything except the juice of herbes with which they also wash themselves. After this time is finished, they begin to eat something which gives them nourishment. And in the time that they have been without food through the weakness which they feel in the body and in the head they say they have seen something perhaps desired by them, for they all keep this fast in honor of the *cemi* that they have in order to know if they will obtain a victory over their enemies or to acquire wealth or for anything else they desire. And they say that this cacique affirmed that he had spoken with Giocauuaghama† who had told him that whoever remained alive after his death should enjoy the rule over them only a short time, because they would see in their country a people clothed which was to rule them and to slay them and that they would die of hunger. At first they thought these would be the Canibales;‡ but reflecting that they only plundered and fled they believed that it must be another people that the *cemi* spoke of. Wherefore they now believe that it was the Admiral and the people he brought with him.§ Now I want to tell what I have seen and what took place, when I and the other friars went to Castile and I, Friar Ramon a poor hermit stayed behind|| and went off to the Magdalena to a fort which Don Christopher Columbus, Admiral, viceroy and governor of the islands and of the main land of the Indies by command of King Don Ferdinand and of the Queen Donna Isabella. I being in that fort with Artiaga (Arriaga) appointed captain of it by order of the aforesaid viceroy Don Christopher Columbus it pleased God to enlighten with the light of the Holy Catholic Faith a whole household of the principal people of that province of Magdalena. This province was called Maroris|| and the lord of it was called Guauauoconel, which means son of Guauaenechin. In the aforesaid house were his servants and favorites who had for a surname Giahuuauari. They were in all sixteen persons all relatives, and among them five brothers. Of these one died, and the other four received the water of holy baptism. And I believe that they died martyrs, for so it appeared in their death and in their constancy. The first who received the death or the water of holy baptism was an Indian called Guaticaua** who then received the name of John. This

*This sentence is apparently corrupt. The conjectural insertions are based on Las Casas's epitome of the same story. Docs. Inéd. LXVI, 473. I take Caissiuasquel and Caizzihu to be the same.

†Yocahuguama in Las Casas, *op. cit.* 475.

‡"That people whom we now call Caribes but whom they then and we called Canibales" Las Casas *op. cit.* 475. The words are etymologically the same.

§A very interesting legend of a prophecy of a clothed conquering race. Possibly the attribute of clothing may have been based on rumors of the Mayas or the Aztecs.

||The text is confused. Probably it means simply at the time when the other friars went to Castile.

†Macorix. Las Casas, Docs. Inéd. LXVI, 436.

**Guiaicauanu is the form given a page below.

was the first Christian who suffered a cruel death; and surely it seems to me that he died the death of a martyr. For I have heard from some who were present at his death that he said Dio Aboriadacha, Dio Aboriadacha,* which is to say: "I am a servant of God." And in like manner died his brother Antony and with him another saying the same thing. All those of this household and people attended me to do whatever I pleased. Those that were left alive and are living to-day are Christians through the means of Don Christopher Columbus, viceroy and governor of the Indies; and now the Christians are many more in number through the grace of God.

Let us now relate what befel us in the island (province) of Magdalena. When I was there in Magdalena the said Lord Admiral came to the assistance of Arriaga and some Christians who were besieged by enemies, the subjects of a principal cacique named Caouabo (Caonabo). The Lord Admiral told me that the language of the province Magdalena Maroris (Maçorix) was different from the other, and that the speech there was not understood throughout the land, and that therefore I should go and reside with another principal Cacique named Guarionex, lord of a numerous people whose language was understood everywhere in the land. So by his command I went to reside with the said Guarionex. It is true, that I said to the lord governor Don Christopher Columbus: "My lord, why does your lordship wish me to go and live with Guarionex when I know no language besides that of Maroris? (Maçorix) Let your lordship permit that some one of these people of Nuhuirci, who then were Christians and knew both languages, go with me." This he granted me and told me to take whomever I pleased. And God in his goodness gave me for a companion the best of the Indians and the one most experienced in the Christian faith. Later he took him from me. God be praised who gave him and took him away, whom I truly regarded as a good son and a brother. And he was that Guaicauanú who afterwards was a Christian and was called John.

Of what befell us there I, the poor hermit, shall not relate anything, nor how we set forth Guaicauanú and I and went to Isabella and waited for the Admiral till he returned from the relief of Magdalena. As soon as he arrived we went where the lord governor had ordered us in company with one Juan de Agiada (Aguada) who had charge of a fort which the said governor Don Christopher Columbus had built, half a league from the place where we were to live. And the aforesaid lord Admiral commanded the said Juan di Agiada (Aguada) that he should give us to eat from the store that was in the fort. This fort was called Conception. We then were with that cacique Guarionex almost two years giving him instruction all the time in our holy faith and the customs of Christians. In the beginning he showed a good will and gave us hopes that he would do everything we wished and of desiring to be a Christian, asking us to teach him the Lord's Prayer, the *Ave Maria* and the *Creed*,

*This phrase one the very few extant belonging to the Taino or Haytian language is given by Las Casas as "Dios naboria daca." *op. cit.* 475.

and all the other prayers which pertain to the Christian. And thus he learned the Lord's Prayer and the *Ave Maria*, and the Creed. And many of his household learned the same. And every morning he said his prayers and he made his household say them twice a day. But later he became offended and gave up that good plan through the fault of some other principal men of that country, who blamed him because he was willing to give heed to the Christian law, since the Christians were bad men and got possession of their lands by force. Therefore they advised him to care no more for anything belonging to the Christians, but that they should agree and conspire together to slay them, because they could not satisfy them and were resolved not to try in any fashion to follow their ways. For this reason he broke off from his good intention, and we, seeing that he had broken away and left what we had taught him, resolved to depart thence and go where we might be more successful in teaching the Indians and instructing them in the matters of our faith. And so we went to another principal cacique who showed us good will saying that he wished to be a Christian. This cacique was called Mauiatuè. Accordingly, we set out to go to the said Mauiatuè's country: I Friar Ramon Pane, a poor hermit, and Friar Juan Borgognone of the order of St. Francis and John Matthew the first that received the water of Holy Baptism in the island of Espafiola.

On the second day after we departed from the village and habitation of Guarionex to go to the other cacique named Mauiatuè the people of Guarionex built a house near the house of prayer in which we left some images before which the catechumens were to kneel and pray and to console themselves. And they were the mother, and brothers and the relatives of the aforesaid John Matthew, the first Christian. Later seven others joined them and then all of that family became Christians and persevered in their good intentions, according to our faith; so that all that family remained as the guardians of that house of prayer and some lands that I had had tilled.

Now these being left to guard this house the second day after we had gone to the aforesaid Mauiatuè, six men went into the house of prayer which the aforesaid catechumens who were seven in number had charge of, and by order of Guarionex told them that they should take those images which Friar Ramon had left in the custody of the catechumens, and rend them and break them in pieces, since Friar Ramon and his companions had gone and they would not know who did it. Therefore these six servants of Guarionex went there and found six boys watching over this house of prayer fearing what happened later; and the boys thus instructed said they were unwilling they should come in, but they forced their way in and took the images and carried them off.

CHAPTER XXVI.

What became of the images and the miracle God wrought to show his power.

When they came out of the house of prayer, they threw the images down on the ground and covered them with dirt and then made water upon them saying: "Now your fruits will be good and great." And this because they buried them in a tilled field saying that the fruit would be good which was planted there, and this all in mockery. And when the boys saw this that had charge of the house of prayer by command of the catechumens they ran to their elders who were on their lands and told them, that the men of Guarionex had torn the images to tatters and mocked them. And when they understood the matter from them they left their work and ran crying out to give an account of it to Don Bartholomew Columbus who was then governor in place of the Admiral his brother, who had gone to Castile. He as lieutenant of the viceroy and governor of the islands had the offenders tried and the truth being made known he had them publicly burnt. All this did not deter Guarionex and his subjects from the evil design they had of slaying the Christians on the day appointed for bringing in the tribute which they payed.* But their conspiracy was discovered, and thus they were taken on the same day on which they were going to carry it into effect. Still they persisted in their plan and putting it into operation, they killed four men and John Matthew chief clerk and Anthony his brother who had received Holy Baptism. And they ran to where they had hidden the images and tore them in pieces. Some days later the owner of that field went to dig *agis* which are roots like turnips and some like radishes. And in the place where the images had been buried two or three *agis* had grown one through the middle of the other in the form of a cross. Nor was it possible for any man to find this cross, but the mother of Guarionex found it who was the worst woman I knew in those parts. She thought this a great miracle and said to the commander of the fort Conception, "This miracle has been shown by God where the images were found. God knows why."

Let us now relate how the first Christians were converted who received Holy Baptism and how much it is necessary to do to make all Christians. And truly the island has great need of people to punish the chiefs when they will not suffer their people to hear the things of the Holy Catholic Faith, and to be taught in it, because they are not able and do not know how to speak against it. I can affirm this with truth because it has cost me much labor to know it and I am certain that it will be clear from what we have said of this to point. A word to the wise is enough.

The first Christians then in the island of Espaniola were those of whom we have spoken above, i. e. Gianauuariu in whose family there were

*Cf. Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias* II, 144-5.

seventeen persons who all became Christians, as soon as they understood that there is one God who has made all things and created heaven and earth, without any further arguments or controversy because they easily believe. But with others both force and intelligence must be used, because they are not all alike. Because if these had a good beginning and a better end there will be others who will begin well and then will laugh at what has been taught them. For such force and punishment are necessary.

The first that received Holy Baptism in the island of Espaⁿiola was John Matthew who was baptized on the day of St. Matthew the Evangelist (September 21) in the year 1496, and later all his family; where there have been many Christians and there would be more if there had been someone to teach them and to instruct them in the Holy Catholic Faith and people to hold them in check.

And if any one should ask why I make this so easy a matter I say it is because I have seen the experiment tried especially in the case of a principal cacique Mahuiaitiure who has continued now for three years in his good purpose saying that he will be a Christian and have but one wife because they used to have two or three and the principal ones ten, fifteen or twenty.

This is what I have been able to understand and to learn as to the customs and ceremonies of the Indians of Espaⁿiola, with all the pains I have taken wherein I expect no spiritual or temporal advantage.

May it please our Lord if this is useful to his government and service to give me his grace to persevere; and if it must fall out otherwise, may he take away my understanding.

The end of the work of the poor hermit Ramon Pane.*

AN EPITOME OF THE TREATISE OF FRIAR RAMON
INSERTED BY PETER MARTYR IN HIS
DE REBUS OCEANICIS ET NOVO ORBE.

DECADe I. LIB. IX.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The translation is that of Richard Eden, as revised by Michael Lok, and published in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, London ed. 1812. Vol. v. 209ff. I have compared the translation with the original, restoring some slight omissions and correcting some errors. E. G. B.

Our men therefore were long in the Iland of Hispaniola, before they knew that the people thereof honoured any other thing then the lightes of heauen, or hadde any other

**Historie.* Ed. 1571, folios 126-145.

religion: but when they hadde beene longe conuersaunt with them, and by vnderstanding their language, drew to a further familiaritie, they had knowledge that they vsed diuers rites and superstitions: I haue therefore gathered these fewe thinges following, omitting the more trifling matter, out of a booke written by one Ramonus [Ramon] an Heremite, whome Colonus [Columbus] hadde left with certayne kinges of the Ilande to instruct them in the Christian faith. And tarrying there a long time he composed a small book in the Spanish tongue on the rites of the island. And because in manner their whole religion is none other thing then idolatrie, I will beegin at their idolles. It is therefore apparant by the images which they honour openly and commonly, that there appeare vnto them in the night seasons, certayne phantasies and illusions of euil spirites, seducing them into many fonde and foolish errors for they make certaine images of Gossampine cotton, folded or wreathed after their manner, and hard stopped within. These images they make sitting, muche like vnto the pictures of spirits and deuilles which our paynters are accustomed to paynt vpon walles: but forasmuch as I my selfe sent you foure of these Images, you may better presently signifie vnto the king vour vnkle, what manner of things they are, and howe like vnto paynted deuilles, than I can expresse the same by writing. These images, the inhabitauntes call Zemes, whereof the leaste, made to the likenesse of young deuilles, they binde to their foreheads when they goe to the warres against their enemies, and for that purpose haue they those strings hanging at them which you see. Of these, they beleue to obteyne rayne, if raine bee lacking, likewise fayre weather if they are in need of sunshine: for they think that these Zemes are the mediatours and messengers of the great God, whom they acknowledge to be onely one, eternall, without end, omnipotent, and inuisible. Thus euery king hath his particular Zeme, which he honoureth. They call the eternall God by these two names, Iocauna,

Guamaonocon, as their predecessoures taught them, affirming that hee hath a mother called by these fие names: that is, Attabeira, Mamona, Guacarapita, Iiella, Guimazoa. Nowe shall you heare what they fable on the earth as touching the originall of man. There is in the lande, a region called Caunana, where they faine that mankinde came first out of two caues of a mountaine: and that the biggest sorte of men came forth of the mouth of the biggest caue, and the least sort out of the least caue. The rocke in the which these caues are, they call Cauta. The greatest denne, they name Cazibaxagua, and the lesse Amaiauna. They say, that before it was lawful for men to come foorth of the caue, the mouth of the caue was kept and watched nightly by a man whose name was Machochael: this Machochael, departing somewhat farre from the caue, to the intent to see what things were abroad, was sodenly taken of the sunne, (whose sight he was forbidden) and was turned into a stone. They fayne the like of diuers others, that whereas they went forth in the night season a fishing so farre from the caue, that they could not returne before the rising of the sunne (the which it was not lawfull for them to behold) they were transformed into Myrobalane trees, which of themselves grow plentifully in the Iland. They said furthermore, that a certayne ruler called Vaguoniona, sent one foorth of the caue to goe a fishing, who by like chance was turned into a Nightingale, because the sunne was risen beefore hee came agayne to the caue: and that yeerely about the same time that he was turned into a bird,* he doth in the night with a mourning song bewayle his misfortune, and call for the helpe of his maister Vaguoniona: And this they thinke to bee the cause why that bird singeth in the night season. But Vaguoniona, being sore troubled in his mind for the losse of his familiar friend whom he loued so entirely, leauing the men in the caue, brought forth only the women with their suck-

*By a curious error Lok has "bridge" instead of "bird".

ing children; and leauing the women in one of the Ilandes of that tract, called Mathinin& he caryed the children away with him; which poor wretches oppressed with famine, faynted and remayned on the banke of a certaine ryuer, where they were turned into frogges and cryed toa, toa, that is mamma, mamma, as children are woont to cry, for the mothers pape. And heereof they say it commeth that frogges vse to cry so pitifully in the springtime of the yeare: And that men were scattered abroade in the caues of Hispaniola without the companie of women. They say also, that Vaguoniona himself being accustomed to wander in diuers places, and yet by a speciall grace neuer transformed once, descended to a certayne faire woman, whom he sawe in the bottome of the sea, and receiued of her certayne pibble stones of marble (which they called *Cibas*) and also certayne yellowe and bright plates of lattin which they call *Guaninos*. These necklaces to this day are had in great estimation among the kinges, as goodly jewelles and most holy reliques.

These* men which we said before were left in the caves without women, went forth in the night (as they say) to wash themselves in a pond of rain water and saw a far off by the way a great multitude of certain beasts in shape somewhat like unto women, creeping as thick as ants about the myrobalane trees; And that as they attempted to take these beasts, they slipped out of their hands as they had been eels. Whereupon they consulted, and determined by the advice of the elders, that all such should be sought forth among them, as were scabbed and leprous, to the intent that with their rough and hard hands, they might the easier take hold of them. These men, they call *Caracaraoles*: And sent them forth a hunting to take their beasts. But of many which they took, they could keep but only four: and when they would have used them for women, they found

*The two legends that follow of the making of women and of the making of the sea were omitted by Lok although translated by Eden. Eden's version modernised has been inserted here.

that they lacked woman's priuities. Wherefore calling the elders again to counsel to consult what were best to be done in this case, their advice was that the bird which we call the Pye, should be admitted with his bill to open a place for that purpose, while in the meantime these men called *Caracaracoles*, should hold fast the women's thighs abroad with their rough hands. Full wisely therefore was the pye put to this office, and opened the women's priuities, and hereof the women of the Island have their origin and offspring. But now do I cease to marvel that the old Greeks did fable and write so many books of the people called *Myrmidones*, which they said to be engendered of ants or pismires. These and such like, the sagest and wisest of the people, preach continually to the simple sort, and rehearse the same as most holy oracles. But it is yet more childish [rather, more sober] that they fable as touching the original of the sea. For they say that there was once in the Island, a man of great power, whose name was *Iaia*; whose only son being dead, he buried him within a great gourd. This *Iaia*, grievously taking the death of his son, after a few months, came again to the gourd: The which when he had opened, there issued forth many great whales and other monsters of the sea: whereupon he declared to such as dwelt about him, that the sea was enclosed in that gourd. By which report, four brethren (borne of one woman who died in her travail) being moved, came to the gourd in hope to have many fishes. The which when they had taken in their hands, and espied *Iaia* coming, (who often-times resorted to the gourd to visit the bones of his son) fearing lest he should suspect them of theft and sacrilege, suddenly let the gourd fall out of their hands: which being broken in the fall the sea forthwith broke out at the rifts thereof, and so filled the vales, and overflowed the plains, that only the mountains were uncovered, which now contain the islands which are seen in those coasts. And this is the opinion of these wise men as concerning the origin of the sea.

But nowe (most noble prince) you shall heare a more pleasaunt fable. There is a certayne caue called Iouanaboina, in the territorie of a certayne king whose name is Machinnéch: This caue they honour more religiously then did the Greekes in time paste, Corinth, Cyrrha, or Nysa, and haue adourned it with pictures of a thousand fashions. In the entrance of this caue they haue two grauen Zemes, whereof the one is called Binthaitel, and the other Maróhu. Being demanded why they had this caue in so great reuerence they answered earnestly, because the sunne and the moone came first out of the same to glie light to the world: they haue religious concourse to these caues, as we are accustomed to goe on Pylgrimage to Rome, or Vaticane, Compostella, or the Lords Sepulchre, Hierusalem, as most holy & head places of our religion. They are also subiect to another kind of superstition: for they thinke that dead folks walke in the night, and eate the fruite called *Guannaba*, vnknowne vnto vs, & somewhat like vnto a Quinse: affirming also that they are cōuersant with liuing people: euen in their beddes, and to deceiue women in taking vpon them the shape of men, shewing themselves as though they would haue to doe with them: but when the matter commeth to actuall deed, sodainly they vanishe away. If any do suspect that a dead body lyeth by him, when he feeleth any strange thing in the bed, they say he shall bee out of doubt by feeling of the bellie thereof; affirming that the spirates of dead men may take vppon them all the members of mans body, sauing onely the nauel. If therefore by the lacke of the nauel he doe perceiue that a dead body lyeth by him, the feeling (contact) is immediately resolued. (relaxed) They beleue verily, that in the night, and oftentimes in ther iourneies, and especially in common and high wayes, dead men doe meeete with the liuing: Against whom, if any man bee stout and out of feare, the fantasie vanisheth incontinently: but if anie feare, the fantasie or vision dooth so assaulte him and strike him with further feare, that many are thereby

astonished, and haue the lymmes of their bodies taken. (Rather, are completely unnerved). The inhabitautes beeing demanded of whom they had those vaine superstitions they aunswered, that they were left them of their forefathers, as by descent of inheritance, and that they haue had the same before the memorie of man, composed in certaine rimes and songes, which it was lawfull for none to learne, but onely the kinges sonnes, who committed the same to memorye because they had neuer any knowledge of letters. These they sing before the people on certaine solemne and festiuall dayes as most religious ceremonies: while in the meane time they play on a certaine instrument made of one whole peece of wood somewhat holowe like a timbrel. Their priestes and diuines (whom they call Boitii) instructe them in these superstitions: These priestes are also phisitions, deuising a thousand craftes and subtilties howe to deceiue the simple people which haue them in great reuerence for they perswade them that the Zemes vse to speak with them familiarly, and tel them of things to come. And if any haue ben sicke, and are recouered they make and beleue that they obteined their health of the Zemes. These Boitii bind themselves to much fasting, and outward cleanlinesse, and purginges, especially when they take vpon them the cure of any prince, for then they drinke the powder of a certaine herbe by whose qualitie they are driuen into a fury, at which time (as they say) they learne many thinges by reuelation of the Zemes. Then putting secretely in their mouthes, eyther a stone, or a bone, or a peece of flesh, they come to the sick person commanding al to depart out of that place except one or two whom it shall please the sicke man to appoynt: this done, they goe about him three or foure times, greatly deforming their faces, lipps, and nos-thrils with sundry filthy gestures, blowing, breathing, and sucking the forehead, temples, and necke of the patient, whereby (they say) they drawe the euil ayre from him, and sucke the disease out of the vaynes; then rubbing him,

about the sholders, thighes and legges, and drawing downe their handes close by his feete, holding them yet faste togeather, they runne to the doore being open, where they vnclose and shake their hands, affirming that they haue driuen away the disease, and that the patient shall shortly be perfectly restored to health. After this comming behinde him, hee conueigheth a peece of fleshe out of his owne mouth like a iuggeler, and sheweth it to the sicke man, saying, "Behold, you haue eaten to much, you shall nowe bee whole, because I haue taken this from you." But if he entend yet further to deceiue the patient, hee perswadeth him that his Zeme is angry, eyther because he hath not builded him a chappell, or not honoured him religiously, or not dedicated vnto him a groue or garden. And if it so chaunce that the sicke person die, his kinsfolks, by witchcrafte, enforce the dead to confesse whether he died by naturall destiny, or by the negligence of the Boitiis, in that he had not fasted as he should haue done, or not ministr'd a conuenient medicine for the disease: so that if this phisition be found faultie, they take reuenge of him. Of these stones or bones which these Boitiis cary in their mouthes, if the women can come by them, they keepe them religiously, beleeuing them to be greatly effectuall to helpe women traueling with childe, and therefore honour them as they do their Zemes. For diuers of the inhabitantes honour Zemes of diuers fashions: some make them of wood, as they were admonished by certaine visions appearing vnto them in the woods: Other, which haue receiued aunswere of them among the rockes, make them of stone and marble. Some they make of rootes, to the similitude of such as appeare to them when they are gathering the rootes called Ages, whereof they make their bread, as we haue said before. These Zemes they beleue to send plentie & fruitfulnes of those rootes, as the antiquitie beleued such fayries or spirits as they called Dryades, Hamadryades, Satyros, Panes, and Nereides, to haue the cure & prouidence of

the sea, woods, springes, and fountaines, assigning to euery thing their peculiar goddes; Euen so doe the inhabitants of this Iland attribute a Zeme to euery thing, supposing the same to giue eare to their inuocations. Wherefore, as often as the kings aske counsell of their Zemes as concerning their warres, increase of fruites or scarcenes, or health & sickness, they enter into the house dedicate to their Zemes, where, snuffing vp into their nosthryles the pouder of the herbe called *Cohobba** (wherewith the Boitii are dryuen into a furie) they say that immediately they see the houses turned topsie turuie, and men to walke with their heeles vpward, of such force is this pouder, vtterly to take away al sence. As soone as this madnesse ceasseth, he embraceth his knees with his armes, holding downe his head. And when he hath remayned thus awhile astonyshed, hee lifteth vp his head, as one that came newe out of sleepe: and thus lookin vp toward heauen, first he fumbleth certayne confounded wordes with himselfe, then certayne of the nobilitie or chiefe gentlemen that are about him (for none of the common people are admitted to these mysteries) with loude voyces giue tokens of rejoicing that hee is returned to them from the speech of the Zemes, demanding of him what he hath seene. Then hee opening his mouth, doateth that the Zemes spake to him during the time of his trance, declaring that he had reuelations either concerning victorie or destruction, famine or plentie, health or sicknesse or whatsoeuer happeneth first on his tongue. Now (most noble Prince) what neede you hereafter to marueyle of the spirite of Apollo so shaking his Sibylles with extreame furie: you hadde thought that the superstitious antiquitie hadde perished. But nowe whereas I haue declared thus much of the Zemes in general, I thought it not good to let passe what is sayde of them in particular. They say therefore that a certayne king called *Guamaretus*, had a Zeme whose name was *Coróchutus*, who (they say) was oftentimes

*Tobacco.

wont to descend from the highest place of the house where Guamarétus kept him close bound. They affirme that the cause of this his breaking of his bandes and departure, was eyther to hide himselfe, or to goe seeke for meate, or else for the acte of generation: and that sometimes beeing offended that the King Guamarétus had bin negligent and slacke in honouring him, he was wont to lie hid for certaine dayes. They say also, that in the kinges village there are sometime children borne hauing two crownes, which they suppose to be the children of Corochótus the Zeme. They faine likewise, that Guamarétus being ouercome of his enemies in battayle, and his village with the palace consumed with fire, Corochótus brake his bandes, and was afterwardne founde a furlong of, safe and without hurte. He hath also another Zemes called Epileguanita, made of woode, in shape like a foure footed beast: who also is sayde often-times to haue gone from the palace where hee is honoured, into the woodes. As soone as they perceiue him to bee gone, a great multitude of them gather together to seeke him with deuout prayers: and when they haue founde him, bring him home religiously on their shoulders to the chappell dedicated vnto him. But they complaine, that since the comming of the Christian men into the Ilande, he fled for altogether, and coulde neuer since be founde, whereby they diuined the destruction of their country. They honoured another Zeme in the likenesse of a woman, on whom waited two other like men, as they were ministers to her. One of these, executed the office of a mediatour to the other Zeme, which are vnder the power and commaundement of this woman, to raise wyndes, cloudes, and rayne. The other is also at her commaundement a messenger to the other Zemes, which are ioyned with her in gouernance, to gather together the waters which fall from the high hills to the valleies, that beeing loosed, they may with force burst out into great floudes, and ouer flowe the countrey, if the people do not giue due honour to her Image. The remaineth yet one thing

worthy to be noted, wherewith we will make an end of this booke. It is a thing well knowne, and yet freshe in memorie among the inhabitants of the Iland, that there was sometime two kings (of the which one was the father of Guarionex, of whom wee made mention before) whiche were woont to absteine fие daies together continually from meate & drinke, to know somewhat of their Zemes of thinges to come, and that for this fasting being acceptable to their Zemes, they receiued answere of them, that within few yeeres there shoulde come to the Iland a nation of men couered with apparell, which shoulde destroy all the customes and ceremonies of the Iland, and either slay all their children, or bring them into seruitude. The common sort of the people vnderstoode this oracle to be ment of the *Canibales*, & therefore when they had any knowledge of their comming, they euer fled, and were fully determined neuer more to aduenture the battayle with them. But when they sawe that the Spanyardes hadde entred into the Ilande, consulting among themselues of the matter, they concluded that this was the nation whiche was ment by the oracle. Wherein their opinion deceipted them not, for they are nowe all subject to the Christians, all such being slayne as stuberly resisted: Nor yet remayneth there anie memorie of their Zemes, for they are all brought into Spayne, that wee might bee certified of their illusions of euill spirits and Idolles, the which you your selfe (most noble Prince) haue seene and felt when I was present with you.

THE POINT OF VIEW IN HISTORY.

BY WILLIAM E. FOSTER.

What is history? Is it, essentially, science; or is it, essentially, literature; or must we make a still different answer to the question?

Although the problem involved in these questions is by no means new, it has hardly ever been discussed with greater earnestness than in our own day, nor has it perhaps been discussed with greater frequency than during the last twenty-five years. During this period have appeared the various publications by the German historian, Lamprecht, relating to history, including his latest volume of lectures,¹ which has been translated into English under the suggestively interrogative title:—"What is history?"

The literature of the subject, as a whole, is most voluminous;² and the answers to this very question, direct or implied, are bewilderingly diverse. In the Eighteenth Century Montesquieu seemed to conceive of history as based very decidedly on physiography, or the study of the earth's surface.³

¹Lamprecht, Karl. *Moderne Geschichtswissenschaft*. Freiburg im Breisgau H. Heyfelder. 1905. This is translated into English under the following title: "What is history? Five lectures on the modern science of history. Translated from the German by E. A. Andrews." New York. The Macmillan Co., 1905.

²On the literature of the subject, in general, a very useful "Bibliography of the study and teaching of history" has been prepared by James Ingersoll Wyer, Jr., and published in the "Annual report" of the American Historical Association, 1899, v. 1, p. 559-612. There should also be noted the more than one hundred citations included in the "Notes" appended to Lord Acton's inaugural lecture at Cambridge, on "The study of history," (p. 75-142), London: Macmillan & Co., 1895; also Dr. William Preston Johnston's paper on "Definitions of history," in the "Annual report" of the American Historical Association, 1895, p. 45-53. Other enumerations of writers who have defined history will be found in Dr. Robert Flint's "History of the philosophy of history," pt. 1, (1894), New York; C. Scribner's Sons, p. 8-12.

See also p. v-viii of Dr. G. Stanley Hall's "Methods of teaching history," (Ed. 1886), for brief references.

³See Books 14-18 of "L'esprit des lois," first published at Paris in 1750.

A recent volume of much interest, by H. B. George, discusses "The relations of geography and history." Oxford University Press, 1901.

The late John W. Draper,¹ an American historian, apparently sympathized with this view, extending it also to physiology, or the study of the human body. The famous English historian, Freeman, defined history as "past politics," and politics as "present history."² This is a view of the subject which appealed also to another recent English historian, Lecky.³ Two eminent economists, writing respectively in England and America, (Thorold Rogers and Seligman), emphasize its connection with economics.⁴ History is definitely included under sociology by a very eminent English scholar, Frederic Harrison.⁵ A historian's conception of history is embodied in an incidental remark of the late Judge Chamberlain, in 1887, as follows: "the record of impartial judgment concerning the motives and conduct of men, of parties, and of nations, set forth in their best light."⁶ It is interesting also to notice the views incidentally expressed by men whose fields of study are somewhat remote from history. For instance, it is closely connected with the human will, by Dr. Hugo Münsterberg,⁷ in one of his brilliant psy-

¹Mr. Draper's views are embodied not only in his "History of the American Civil War," (New York, Harper & Bros., 1867-70, 3 v.), but in his "History of the intellectual development of Europe," (New York: Harper & Bros., 1861, 2 v.)

²Freeman, Edward Augustus. Lectures to American audiences, (Pub. 1882), p. 207. Compare also his "Methods of historical study," (1886), p. 44. This view was also held by Herbert B. Adams. See the Johns Hopkins University studies in historical and political science, v. 1, p. 12.

³Lecky, William Edward Hartpole. Political (The) value of history. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1893. [Delivered as an inaugural address at Birmingham, 1892.]

⁴Rogers, James Edward Thorold. Economic (The) interpretation of history. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1888.

⁵Seligman, Edward R. A. Economic (The) interpretation of history. New York: Macmillan Co., 1902.

⁶"History is only one department of sociology, just as natural history is the descriptive part of biology." At p. 138 of Mr. Harrison's volume, "The meaning of history and other historical pieces," London: Macmillan & Co. 1900.

⁷"Papers" of the American Historical Association, v. 3, (1888), p. 53. Reprinted in the volume "John Adams," etc., by Mellen Chamberlain, Boston; Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898, p. 139.

Another definition of history is given by our associate, Mr. James Phinney Baxter, as follows: "The orderly expression of great forces whose continuity of action gives it unity." ("Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society," Oct. 21, 1899, new series, v. 13, p. 142.)

"This whole mighty system of will-reference is what we call human history." Hugo Münsterberg's "The eternal life," Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., 1905, p. 33.

chological studies; while, in some recent Lowell Institute lectures on literature, by George Edward Woodberry,¹ it is connected with "race-power." Nor should it be forgotten that there are those who regard history as an art. But without further enumerating these very diverse views, we may notice that there are few among them which come with so much surprise to a reader who is without special training in history, as that of Lamprecht, already cited above. This eminent German historian, after a careful survey of the entire field, declares deliberately: "History in itself is nothing but applied psychology." Page 29. ("Geschichte ist an sich nichts als angewandte Psychologie." Page 16.) It is small wonder that one of the reviewers of Lamprecht, after devoting three pages to a consideration of the book, closes by asking:—"What is history?" or, rather, "Where is history?"²

And yet, diverse as are these points of view, much the greater part of the discussion which has been carried on, in English, at least, has been a dispute as to whether history ought to be written from the "literary" point of view or from the "scientific" point of view; and on this question the divergence of opinion is sharp indeed. On the one hand, it is argued, sometimes seriously, and sometimes in a very charmingly humorous vein,³ that the literary point of view is the only point of view, and that the dull facts of history must be dressed up. "A distinguished author," says Mr. William C. Todd, in a recent article,⁴ once said to the writer that "it was not right to turn a man out into

¹"History is so much of past experience as abides in race-memory; and underlies race-literature in the same way that a poet's own experience underlies his expression of life." In "The torch—eight lectures on race power in literature," New York: McClure, Phillips, & Co., 1905, p. 38.

²Dr. A. A. Currier Tilton, in the *American Historical Review*, Oct., 1905, v. 11, p. 121.

³For an admirable discussion of the subject with a humorous appreciation and lightness of touch almost worthy of Charles Lamb, see "The gentle reader," by Samuel M. Crothers, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., 1903, particularly, his chapter entitled "That history should be readable."

⁴*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, April, 1890, v. 44, p. 172.

the world naked—he should be dressed up." Apparently some history is written on precisely this principle.

At the other extreme will be found the eminent English scholar, Professor John Bagnall Bury, who, in his recent inaugural address, took occasion to remark severely: "It has not yet become superfluous to insist that history is a science, no less and no more."¹ "When this," he adds, "has been fully taken to heart, though there may be many schools of political philosophy, there will no longer be divers schools of history."² It is quite evident that the adherents of these two extremes can hardly hope to find themselves assenting to each other's declarations. So irreconcilable, indeed, are they that one is almost forced to inquire whether some different point of view is not possible,—a *tertium quid*, so to speak.

NEED OF DEFINITION.

We know that some difficulties result from inadequate definition. If, as has already been stated, history is sometimes defined as literature and sometimes as science, let us define, if possible, these terms themselves. It is, in some sense, a misfortune that both of these words have been laid hold of, in our complex "mother tongue," to express widely varying concepts. As a consequence, the attempt to make either one of them fit some definitely specified set of ideas, rather than another, may sometimes leave the impression of using terms loosely. Still, the following definitions are submitted as perhaps covering the requirements.

Literature, on the one hand, may be regarded as something vital and noteworthy, not only in its content, (which may be either a thought, or a principle, as well as an event), but also in its verbal form. But literature, in order to

¹At p. 7 of his "Inaugural lecture," as Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge, Jan. 26, 1908, Cambridge: University Press, 1908.

²Ibid. It is not strange that so extreme, not to say dogmatic a deliverance, has called forth spirited protests.

possess vitality, must deal with actual, living realities,—with life in some shape, and most commonly with the life of man. Moreover, in attaining the verbal form which is required, it will naturally possess "style." By this is not necessarily meant a florid or an obtrusive style. In other words, it does not call for "purple patches."

Science, on the other hand, may be regarded as dealing with certain definite data, by means of systematically reasoned processes, whether deductive or inductive, and as making use of rigid methods of verification, in order to exclude all data which are untrustworthy. It follows from this, that in the work of the scientific historian there is no place for "guess-work" on the one hand, nor for "rhapsodies" on the other. It does not follow from this, however, that "the scientific use of the imagination" is not allowable. It is not merely allowable but even indispensable, provided that it is accompanied by verification, and it is a necessary part of historical science, quite as fully as of physical science, where Mr. Tyndall¹ so convincingly advocated it.

If now we inquire as to the materials, the methods, and the aims, of the historian, on the basis of the definitions just given, we may perhaps put the case as follows.

The "scientific historian," so-called, in the use of the materials of his history, will be liberal in the extreme, in extending the scope of the inquiry so as to include not only narratives of wars, of peace, of government, and of the minuter features of every-day life, but he will also be rigid in the extreme in rejecting certain definite data which appear not to have the requisite body of proof in their favor. "Facts"—and nothing else,—will be insisted on, as the appropriate materials for history.²

The "literary historian," on the other hand, will be likely to claim the right to deal not only with facts, but with ideas,

¹"Fragments of science," (Am. ed.), New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1883, p. 125.

²To quote from Ranke:—"Ich will nur sagen wie es eigentlich gewesen ist." Cited by Bury, at p. 18 of his "Inaugural lecture," 1903.

thoughts, fancies, and impressions, maintaining that under some conditions he will find in such a field as this the closest approach to a truthful reproduction of his subject.

The scientific historian will insist on submitting all of his data, and all of his processes, to verification, unhesitatingly casting away whatever does not endure this test. So far as the formal organization of his material is concerned, he will at least aim to present a logical chain of reasoning, even if he does not go so far as to insist on reducing the successive steps in the process to mathematical formulae.

The literary historian, on the other hand, is inclined to attach less importance to formal processes. While he would hesitate to go to the extreme of non-logical methods, he will usually prefer that the "skeleton" of reasoned processes should lie below the surface, rather than on the surface.

The scientific historian urges the necessity of approaching the treatment of any historical incident absolutely free from pre-possession, from pre-judgment, or prejudice, or from pre-conceptions of any kind. He maintains also that the treatment must be absolutely "colorless,"¹ so far as concerns the presence, in his own mind, of sympathy, of advocacy, of partisanship, of emotion, or of human feeling generally. In other words, the temper and the treatment, instead of being subjective, must be purely objective.

The literary historian, on the other hand, while admitting that a historian who should, as a matter of fact, be absolutely divested of all human feeling, in approaching a historical subject, would be an interesting phenomenon, maintains that, under existing conditions, this is probably an impossibility. He therefore maintains that a recognition of this fact is safer, in the end, than the assumption of an unrealizable ideal. He maintains also, that in going to

¹See the consideration elsewhere in this paper, (p. 385), of this quality, (that of being colorless), as advocated by Ranke.

the extreme of "objective" treatment, one runs the risk of presenting perhaps as distorted a picture, as in going to the extreme of subjective treatment.

The scientific historian conceives of motive only to put it under the ban. He maintains that the only defensible position is that of "history for the sake of history," rather than that of history as a means to an end, however laudable. If the historian may be conceived of as holding opinions, they must be those only which he finds that he can, at the close of his prolonged study of the problem, deduce from the data which have been brought forward. In entering on the study of the problem, however, the shell of no tortoise should be barer of hair than his own mind should be bare of opinions, on either side. It should, in fact, be an absolute blank. He furthermore maintains that, whether or not a history, when complete, is interesting to the reader or not, is no concern of his. His business is with the facts alone. He maintains that to recognize any such motive as that of presenting the facts in an attractive form¹ is not only aside from his real province, but is likely to prove a most dangerous and misleading factor in the treatment of the subject. His duty is to get the facts included as a part of the permanent record of history, and then trust to time to bring about their general acceptance, in the light of an extended examination of the subject.

The literary historian, on the other hand, while admitting the danger attaching to pre-conceived ideas, maintains that it is sometimes the obvious duty of a man who has already made up his mind in regard to some occurrence, to set down an orderly narrative of the events connected with it. He also maintains that the writer who fails to present his facts in such verbal form as to carry conviction to his readers falls short of his duty, whether in history, in science, or in literature.

¹"Dressed up"—to quote from the language already cited above, (p. 351).

The scientific historian is satisfied to toil for months without reaching definite results. He maintains that one of the greatest perils in historical narrative is the confounding of "absolute proof" with what is only "a high degree of probability."

The literary historian, on the other hand, holds that in his general summing up it is perfectly legitimate to cite those data which are only "probable,"¹ along with those which are certain,—provided always that this distinction is made perfectly clear to the reader.

Along some such lines of distinction as those above indicated would run the division between the varying points of view of the two schools of historians. And yet, as every student of history knows, a comparative study of individual historians does not reveal a cleavage so simple and so unvarying as that above indicated, but rather an inextricably mixed condition of things. One of the complications is frequently to be noted when the same writer has published both a work of historical narrative proper, and an extended discussion of the ideal "point of view" in

¹An effective protest can apparently be made against this position, (the citing of "probable evidence,") even by those writers who admit in other ways the force of the "literary" point of view, on the ground that it fails to distinguish between the conditions existing in the case of human conduct and those which govern in the framing of a historical narrative.

Bishop Butler, (in his "Analogy of religion, natural and revealed, to the constitution and course of nature," first published in 1736), has convincingly shown that "probable evidence," as distinguished from "demonstrative" evidence, must frequently be accepted in lieu of anything else, in deciding on the steps to be taken, in the practical affairs of life. Long after him, Mr. Gladstone, in his paper on "The law of probable evidence and its relation to conduct," (published under the title of "Probability as the guide of conduct," in the Nineteenth Century, May, 1879, v. 5, p. 908-34, and afterwards reprinted in his "Gleanings of past years," Am. ed., v. 7, p. 153-99), re-enforced the same view, and included some additional arguments in favor of it. Both of these writers succeed in convincing the candid reader that "probability is the very guide of life." (Gladstone, p. 84.)

But the essential difference between the case of the man who uses "probable evidence," in shaping his course of action, and one who uses it in shaping a historical narrative is, that the former has no option, while the latter has. In other words, a historian is at perfect liberty not to act on the basis of insufficient evidence, and simply omits all reference to it; and the careful historian will follow this course. The instructive instance cited from Mr. Samuel Rawson Gardiner's experience, (at page 391, below), in which he decided, after long-continued examination of certain papers, that they were "unavailable for historical purposes," (English Historical Review, v. 1, p. 520), is worthy of imitation by all other historians.

writing history. Under these circumstances, it is by no means an unheard of occurrence when such a writer is found strongly emphasizing the need of non-partisan treatment in historical composition, while, at the same time, his own historical work reveals a distinctly partisan point of view. And this helps to show us the futility of any very rigid system of applying the labels, "literary" and "scientific."

It is true that time, place, and condition need to be taken into account, in passing judgment on a historian, particularly in regard to what may be considered the conditions inherently favorable for accuracy. While history, like natural science, has been essayed by both ancient and modern writers, at successive stages of the world's development, one can hardly judge Herodotus, writing in the fifth century before Christ, by exactly the same canons as in the case of James Anthony Froude, writing in the nineteenth century after Christ.

Moreover, the historian's own relation to the event needs to be taken into account. Perhaps the bearing of this principle on the question at issue may best be seen from its operation in the case of biography, which is, after all, a form of history. Imagine, for instance, that a poet and artist such as the late William Morris has died, and that a biography of him is needed. In course of time, a "Life" of William Morris, in two volumes, by John W. Mackail,¹ makes its appearance. What are the circumstances under which this work has been prepared? This is a question which is very satisfactorily answered, from Mr. Mackail's "Preface" where we read as follows: "When the task of writing the life of Morris was placed in my hands, his family and representatives gave me unreserved access to all the materials in their possession. To them, and more especially to his executors, Mr. F. S. Ellis

¹Mackail, John William, *Life of William Morris*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 2 v. 1899. Mr. Mackail was appointed Professor of Poetry at Oxford, Feb. 9, 1906.

and Mr. S. C. Cockrell, I owe my best thanks for their friendly help."¹

So far as it goes, this represents ideally favorable conditions, as regards the materials of the work, but this is not all. We know, from other sources, that the author of this biography is a scholarly writer, a careful student, one who is accustomed to weigh historical evidence, a man of sane and well-balanced judgment, a man who is not swayed by strong prejudices in either direction, but one who is prepared to judge sympathetically the various episodes of Morris's career. In fact, after an exhaustive examination of the hundreds of biographies of the Englishmen of Morris's time, we might perhaps safely place Mackail's Life of Morris almost at the head of the list, as representing the maximum of favorable conditions, so far as accuracy is concerned. From this as a maximum, we may find the lives of various other Englishmen ranging, by almost imperceptible gradations, down to the minimum of favorable conditions.

A distinctly less favorable condition is found when the biographer, although belonging to the same century with the subject of the biography, is of a different nationality, and when he speaks a different language. Thereby will result, even if not always perceptible to the biographer, a very decided veil of obscurity, in not a few instances, between the writer and his facts.

But suppose that this veil of obscurity is one of time, rather than of place, and that the biography of one of the main actors in the events of the eighteenth century is to be written by a writer living in the Twentieth Century. A very decided handicap is inevitably occasioned by this separation in time, owing to the gradual disappearance of the data needed by the biographer.

What says Ulysses, in Shakespeare's "Troilus and Cressida"?

¹Mackail's Life of William Morris, v. 1, p. vii.

"Time hath, my lord, a wallet at his back.
Wherein he puts alms for oblivion."¹

In few things is this tribute to oblivion so palpably in evidence as in the details which one needs in constructing a biography, and which, little by little, disappear from the knowledge of living men. Almost every succeeding year, in such a case, witnesses the dropping into this ever hungry "wallet," of some dearly prized item of information. The papers of the subject of the biography are in the possession, we will suppose, of some one of his descendants, who decides to remove to another state, and who, being unable to add this to the other burdens of removal, sells the whole to the junk-dealer. Or the papers may be consigned to the furnace by some servant with a genius for cleaning up, —such a one as the ingenuous maid who could not read and who, when taxed with having thrown away certain papers, frankly confessed that she had done so, but, —she triumphantly explained, "I kept all the clean papers. Them as I throwed away had ink-marks all over them."

Lastly, there is a decided difference of conditions under which the task of the biographer or historian is undertaken, so far as the writer's temperament or mood are concerned. Instead of being entered on in a calm and dispassionate mood, it is taken up, rather, as a polemical movement, by some writer warped by prejudice, wholly out of sympathy with the subject of his biography, and desiring only to "tread him under," so to speak. A case in point is the volume entitled "The character of Thomas Jefferson, as exhibited in his own writings," by Theodore Dwight, published in Boston, by Weeks, Jordan & Co., in 1839. Or, on the other hand, the "prejudice," or pre-judgment, embodied in the book is a blind and unreasoning feeling in favor of the hero of the book, instead of against him. Nevertheless, it is prejudice, in the one case as in the other, and serves to nullify the value of the work.

¹"*Troilus and Cressida*," act 3, scene 3, lines 145-46.

Besides these differences in condition, based upon personal and individual considerations, there may be differences which vary with successive decades, or even centuries. It would be interesting to know whether the conditions are more favorable at present, for the production of the ideal history, than they were in former times, as regards adequate materials, accuracy, freedom from prejudice, etc.

MATERIALS FOR THE HISTORIAN.

If the question be raised as to materials, it seems plain that, in mere mass, they are certainly greater, both as a whole and on any given subject, than one hundred years ago. One need not go from home to find an illustration, not only of mass, but of extreme value, in the case of the John Carter Brown Library, with its thousands of titles of Americana, merely,—all of them antedating the year 1800. The invention of printing has had its bearing on the field of historical literature, as elsewhere, swelling the mass in an almost cumulative manner. Scarcely less influential in this direction has been the tendency towards the cheapening of printing processes. One hundred years ago, a man who had something to say on a historical subject might well hesitate before incurring the expense of committing it to print. Now, if the bulk of our historical literature be any guide, he hesitates no longer,—unfortunately for the public,—or in so few instances that they may be regarded as negligible.

Moreover, besides the individual and fragmentary contributions to the subject, there has now for a long time been a systematic organization of historical publication. Scattered throughout this country,—and also throughout the European countries,—are hundreds of “historical societies.” nearly all of which are started on a career of publishing, with at least one annual volume to their credit. From a considerable number of universities and colleges also, there is now issuing a steady stream of “publications” or “contributions,” devoted to history.

There has been a noteworthy increase, during the past fifty years, in the printed volumes of records, issued by the various record commissions, or "rolls commissions," or document commissions, of this and other countries, and including those of state or provincial, and municipal governments, as well as of national governments. The present condition of the originals of these records is even more gratifying. Within the period referred to, the art of fire-proof construction has made important advances, so that these manuscript records are everywhere coming to be housed in safe and durable quarters, where they can be readily consulted. To feel that we have a reasonable assurance of the indefinite preservation of these records is one of the most substantial gains of the last half-century.

It is of course true that, the greater the mass of materials, the greater is the need of sifting it, to discover that which is really serviceable. Year by year, the processes of minuting, indexing, and cataloguing these stores of documents have made it possible to refer to some given document with less loss of time than ever before; and yet there is an enormous mass which these indexing processes have not yet touched.

While the mass of historical materials has thus been increasing, there has everywhere been an unparalleled activity in developing and improving methods of historical study. An extraordinary amount of attention has been bestowed not only on the best methods of teaching history to children in the secondary schools, but to those who are studying these subjects in colleges and universities, especially when they are planning to devote the subsequent years of their life to the teaching or writing of history. Methods like these have long been very vigorously prosecuted on the other side of the water,—and especially in Germany. It was some time, however, before this country felt the full force of this noteworthy development. There are few more instructive volumes, as throwing light on this very

development, than the one entitled "Methods of teaching history," edited by our associate, President G. Stanley Hall, with papers by a number of separate writers. This work has passed through two editions, namely, that of 1884, and that of 1886.¹ A later volume, of much interest and significance, is the one entitled "Essays on the teaching of history,"² written by nine English teachers of history,—for the most part at Oxford and Cambridge,—including, among others, so eminent names as those of Maitland, Poole, Cunningham, and Ashley. This work, projected by the late Lord Acton, was published in 1901, after his death. It is easy to see that, during the period referred to, there has been gradually incorporated into the every-day routine of the colleges and universities, not only the "seminary" method, so-called, but also the "laboratory" point of view, as it may well be called. This is indeed at the present time the normal and obvious view of historical study, instead of being the exceptional view. It is widely, or rather, universally, recognized that the historian's labor, in the gathering of data, must be comprehensive, long, patient, and well-directed. These data must then be carefully grouped and classified, since an undigested mass of unrelated facts is an offence to any true historian. And, finally, these data must be subjected to rigid analyses and tests, before being accepted; and this is taken to be quite as much a matter of course as if it were an instance of substances for analysis in a chemical laboratory.

Within recent years also, those who have occupied important chairs of history, both in this country and in Great Britain, have taken occasion to publish their views, for the enlightenment not merely of their own pupils, but

¹"Methods of teaching history," by Andrew D. White, and others. Vol. 1 of the "Pedagogical library," edited by G. Stanley Hall. 2d ed., Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1886.

²"Essays on the teaching of history," edited by W. A. J. Archbold, Cambridge. at the University Press, 1901.

of the intelligent public, at large. The list of names of the men who have held the position of Regius Professor of Modern History, at Oxford and Cambridge respectively, since 1850, is a most striking one,¹ and there are few among them who have not, in one way or another, put on record their ideas of the way in which history ought to be written.² The list of published "inaugural addresses" which have marked the occupancy of these two chairs, at Oxford and at Cambridge is a noteworthy one, and is, approximately,³ as follows:

AT OXFORD.

1. *Vaughan*, Henry Halford. Two general lectures on modern history, delivered on inauguration. Oxford: J. H. and J. Parker. 1849.
2. *Smith*, Goldwin. Inaugural lecture, in 1859. Printed at p. 5-44 of his volume, "Lectures on the study of history", (Am. ed.), New York: Harper & Bros., 1875. [Published in London by J. H. & J. Parker, 1861.]
3. *Stubbs*, William. [afterwards Bishop of Oxford.] Inaugural address, Feb. 7, 1867, printed at p. 1-25 of his volume, "Seventeen lectures on the study of medieval and modern history and kindred subjects", Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886.
4. *Freeman*, Edward Augustus. Office (The) of the historical professor. Inaugural lecture delivered Oct. 15, 1884. London: Mac-

¹Below is given a table showing the successive occupants of both the Oxford and Cambridge chairs for the past fifty-six years:

The following persons have held the position of Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford since 1850:—

1. Henry Halford Vaughan. Appointed in 1848. Continued till 1858.
2. Goldwin Smith. Appointed in 1859. Continued till 1866.
3. William Stubbs, afterwards Bishop of Oxford. Appointed in 1866. Continued till 1884.
4. Edward Augustus Freeman. Appointed in 1884. Continued till 1892.
5. James Anthony Froude. Appointed in 1892. Continued till 1894.
6. Frederick York-Powell. Appointed in 1894. Continued till 1904.
7. Charles Harding Firth. Appointed in 1904. Continued to the present time.

The following persons have held the position of Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge since 1850:—

1. Sir James Stephen. Appointed in 1849. Continued till 1860.
2. Charles Kingsley. Appointed in 1860. Continued till 1869.
3. Sir John Robert Seeley. Appointed in 1869. Continued till 1895.
4. Lord Acton. Appointed in 1895. Continued till 1902.
5. John Bagnall Bury. Appointed in 1902. Continued to the present time.

The name of Samuel Rawson Gardiner narrowly escaped being in this list. The position was offered to him in 1894, but was declined.

²That here are omissions is very probable, even with utmost care to include all. The inaugural address of Mr. Froude, at Oxford is noticeable by its absence. The term of office of Dr. Thomas Arnold, at Oxford, antedated the period referred to, (1841-42). His "Inaugural lecture," (1841), is at p. 25-9^v of his "Introductory lectures," (Am. ed.) New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1845.

millan & Co., 1884. [Also printed at p. 1-40 of his volume, "The methods of historical study," London: Macmillan & Co., 1886.]

5. *Firth, Charles Harding. Plea (A) for the historical teaching of history. Inaugural lecture delivered on Nov. 9, 1904. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905.*

AT CAMBRIDGE.

1. *Kingsley, Charles. Inaugural lecture, 1860. Chapter 1, (p. ix-lvi), of his volume, The Roman and the Teuton—a series of lectures before the University of Cambridge. Cambridge: University Press, 1864.*

2. *Seeley, Sir John Robert. Inaugural lecture, 1869. The teaching of politics. Printed at p. 306-35 of his volume, "Roman imperialism and other lectures and essays", Boston: Roberts Bros. 1871. [Published in London by Macmillan & Co., 1870.]*

3. *Acton, Richard Maximilian Dalberg-, Baron Acton. Lecture (A) on the study of history, delivered at Cambridge, June 11, 1895. London: Macmillan & Co., 1895.*

4. *Bury, John Bagnall. Inaugural lecture delivered in the Divinity School, Cambridge, on January 26, 1903, Cambridge: University Press, 1903.¹*

In this country a scarcely less noteworthy series of expositions of historical method is to be found in the "President's addresses", delivered in successive years, before the American Historical Association. These addresses, the most of which have been printed in full in the American Historical Review, or in the "Annual report" of the Association, have been delivered by such men as Andrew D. White, George Bancroft, and others.

These addresses may be found in print, as follows:

Address of Andrew Dickson White, as President of the American Historical Association, Sept. 9, 1884, "On studies in general history and the history of civilization", in "Papers" of the American Historical Association, vol. 1, p. 49-72.

¹A recent address, of much interest, on the teaching of history is that of Professor Charles Oman, Chichele Professor of History at Oxford, delivered Feb. 7, 1906, and published during the present year, by the Clarendon Press, Oxford. The recommendations of both Firth and Oman are examined in a very incisive review, in the Nation, May 10, 1906, v. 82, p. 388-89.

There are other notable addresses which might be cited in this connection, as, for instance, John Stuart Mill's Inaugural address as Rector of the University of St. Andrew's, Feb. 1, 1867, printed at p. 382-407 of v. 4 of the American reprint of his "Dissertations and discussions," New York: H. Holt & Co., 1874; and W. E. H. Lecky's "Presidential address," on "The political value of history," before the Birmingham and Midland Institute, Oct. 10, 1892, reprinted in this country by D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1893, (57 pages).

That of Andrew Dickson White, Sept. 8, 1885, on "The influence of American ideas upon the French Revolution", (read only by abstract and so printed), in "Papers", vol. 1, p. 429-33.

That of George Bancroft, April 27, 1886, on "Self-government", in "Papers", vol. 2, p. 7-13.

That of Justin Winsor, May 21, 1887, on "Manuscript sources of American history;—the conspicuous collections extant", in "Papers", vol. 3, p. 9-27.

That of William Frederick Poole, Dec. 26, 1888, on "The early Northwest", in "Papers", vol. 3, p. 277-300.

That of Charles Kendall Adams, Dec. 28, 1889, on "Recent historical work in the colleges and universities of Europe and America", in "Annual report" of the American Historical Association, 1889, p. 19-42.

That of John Jay, Dec. 29, 1890, on "The demand for education in American history," in "Annual report", 1890, p. 15-36.

That of William Wirt Henry, Dec. 29, 1891, on "The causes which produced the Virginia of the Revolutionary period", in "Annual report" 1891, p. 15-29.

That of James Burrill Angell, July 11, 1893, on "The inadequate recognition of diplomats by historians", in "Annual report", 1893, p. 13-24.

That of Henry Adams, (read in his absence), Dec. 26, 1894, on "The tendency of history", in "Annual report", 1894, p. 17-23.

That of George Frisbie Hoar, Dec. 27, 1895, on "Popular discontent with representative government", in "Annual report", 1895, p. 21-43.

That of Richard Salter Storrs, Dec. 29, 1896, on "Contributions to our national development by plain men", in "Annual report", 1896, vol. 1, p. 37-63.

That of James Schouler, Dec. 28, 1897, on "A new federal convention", in "Annual report", 1897, p. 21-34.

That of George Park Fisher, Dec. 28, 1898, on "The function of the historian as a judge of historic persons", in "Annual report", 1898, p. 13-33. [Also issued separately, as a pamphlet.]

That of James Ford Rhodes, Dec. 28, 1899, on "History", in "Annual report", 1899, p. 45-63. [Also printed in the Atlantic Monthly, vol. 85, p. 158-69.]

That of Edward Eggleston, (read in his absence), Dec. 27, 1900, on "The new history", in "Annual report", 1900, p. 35-47.

That of Charles Francis Adams,¹ Dec. 27, 1901, on "An undeveloped function", in "Annual report", 1901, vol. 1, p. 49-93. [Also in American Historical Review, vol. 7, p. 203-32.]

¹Very suggestive comment on historical methods is also to be found in Mr. Adams's address on "The sifted grain and the grain sifters," delivered at Madison, Wis., Oct. 19 1900, American Historical Review, Jan., 1901, v. 6, p. 197-234. See also Mr. James F. Rhodes's paper, "Concerning the writing of history," in the "Annual report" of the American Historical Association, 1900, v. 1, p. 48-65.

That of Alfred Thayer Mahan, Dec. 26, 1902, on "Subordination in historical treatment", in "Annual report", 1902, p. 49-63. [Also in *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 91, p. 289-98, with title, "The writing of history."]

That of Henry Charles Lea, Dec. 29, 1903, on "Ethical values in history", in "Annual report", 1903, p. 55-69.

That of Goldwin Smith, Dec. 28, 1904, on "The treatment of history", in "Annual report", 1904, p. 65-78. [Also in *American Historical Review*, vol. 10, p. 511-20.]

That of John Bach McMaster, Dec. 26, 1905, on "Old standards of public morals", in *American Historical Review*, (April, 1906), vol. 11, p. 515-28.

It can hardly be said then that there is any dearth of exact and careful instruction, on the one hand, or of thoughtful and suggestive discussion, on the other hand, on this subject of historical method and point of view. Why then have we not, at the present time, at least an approximation to absolute perfection, in the historical writing of our day? That we have not, is too obvious to need extended proof, further than a glance through the critical reviews of the current historical publications, or, better still, through the books themselves. Chiefly, it may be answered does this result from the limitations of human nature. Given,—a young man who has before him a collection of historical materials of the widest range; who has been carefully instructed by an enlightened and skilful teacher of history; who has served an extended apprenticeship in the actual "laboratory work" in history at the university; and who, finally, is deeply interested in the study. Have we any absolute assurance that he will not, after he goes out into the world, and begins his life-work, as a writer of history, put forth some unworthy piece of work? Unhappily, none. Two drawbacks to be most carefully guarded against, (as persistently reinvading), are constitutional inaccuracy and traditional prejudice.

A TERTIUM QUID.

It has already been suggested, above, that there may possibly be a "*tertium quid*",—some point of view which

avoids the extreme of the "literary" and "scientific" advocates, respectively.

This, in short, is the view of the case which has evidently appealed most strongly to Mr. Firth, the English historian, in his recent very suggestive address on historical method.¹ The author is the present Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford,² and the address cited was delivered as his inaugural lecture, November 9, 1904, under the title of "A plea for the historical teaching of history." The language of the title, by the way, is avowedly borrowed³ from one of the letters of his distinguished predecessor in the same chair, Dr. William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford.⁴

Men "give opposite answers," says Mr. Firth, "according to their conception of the methods and the objects of the historian. One tells us that history is a science, nothing more and nothing less," (Professor J. B. Bury, p. 7), "another that it is an art,"⁵ and that one only succeeds in it by imagination. To me truth seems to lie between these two extremes. History is neither, but it partakes of the nature of both."⁶

Acting on the above suggestion, we shall first interrogate the literary conception of history. We shall note down in what ways this is favorable, and in what ways unfavorable, to the historical treatment which is required. We shall

¹Firth, Charles Henry. "Plea (A) for the historical teaching of history." London. 1904.

²See chronological lists of "Regius Professors of Modern History," above, (p. 363, foot-note 1.)

³Firth's Plea, p. 32.

⁴At p. 264 of W. H. Hutton's "Letters of William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford." London: Constable. 1904.

⁵Mr. Firth in using this language plainly conceives of "art" as the antipodes of "science," in the dispute which is under consideration. Other writers, in treating of the antipodes of science regard it as "literature." In either case the contrast is a sufficiently sharp one; and indeed literature itself may not inappropriately be conceived of as a form of art. It surely partakes of the characteristics of art, in its capacity for effective condensation. "M. Angelo," remarks Dr. C. A. L. Richards, "defined sculpture as 'the Art that works by force of taking away.' The art of literary style works in a similar fashion," [The Dial, Chicago, March 1, 1893, v. 14, p. 140.]

⁶Firth's "Plea," p. 8.

next interrogate the scientific conception of history. Under this, likewise, we shall note down in what ways this point of view is favorable to our design, and in what ways unfavorable. We shall then briefly suggest what is possible in the way of utilizing the best of each.

This comparison might almost be characterized as one between conditions involving the taking of a broad view and conditions involving a deep or profound view. It is to be regretted that these should ever be regarded as incompatible with each other, but it may be said that each of the two has an "atmosphere," so to speak, in which certain tendencies are natural and easy, not merely to the favorable but to the unfavorable conditions which belong with it. In other words, each of these two points of view "has the defects of its qualities."

THE LITERARY POINT OF VIEW.

On the one hand, literature, as has already been indicated above, deals with something vital in thought and also with the verbal form in which the thought is presented.

It would be easy to misconceive of the literary point of view as applied to historical treatment, as being the distinctively "easy" method. Few things could be further from the truth. So long as it is difficult to attain a true perspective and a right proportion in art, so long as it is difficult to use the imagination freely and yet not indiscriminately, so long will the ideally proper utilization of literary principles in historical writing be a difficult attainment.

Even the very phraseology, (the words "style" and "literary principles"), may be the subjects of misapprehension, for few things, unfortunately, are more common than the confounding of "style" with "fine writing," technically so called. When we find ourselves compelled to admire the telling and effective form in which a passage has been cast, in the histories of the English historian, Green, or the American historian, Parkman, this favorable

impression is due to no "purple patches,"—no extraneous matter piled on,—no superfluous adjectives. On the contrary, it is the absence of these, and the spontaneous but effective telling of the story with no waste of words, which command equally our attention, our interest, and our admiration. When, moreover, we find writers like Professor H. Morse Stephens¹ or Professor Frederick York-Powell, emphatically tabooing "style" in historical composition, one cannot help thinking that it is the "over-loaded style" which they have in mind, and not style, *per se*, for seldom will one find so admirable instances of effective style as in some of their own pages. Witness the following, from Professor York-Powell:—

"Whether we like it or not, history has got to be scientifically studied, and it is not a question of style but of accuracy, of fulness of observation and correctness of reasoning, that is before the student. Huxley and Darwin and Clifford have shown that a book may be good science and yet good reading. Truth has not always been found repulsive although she was not bedizened with rhetorical adornments; indeed, the very pursuit of her has long been recognized as arduous but extremely fascinating."²

If the writers of the scientific school continue to decry style in sentences which possess so forcible and telling a style as the foregoing, readers will not quarrel with them as to terms. You may call it style or not, but, whatever it is, it is forcible, and also convincing.

FAVORABLE ASPECTS OF THE "LITERARY SIDE."

It is true, as has been indicated by York-Powell, that the fundamental consideration, from the literary side, is the play of the imagination; and the most of us will agree that there is no completely satisfactory piece of historical work in which this has been wholly neglected. Mr. George M. Trevelyan, who, like Mr. Firth, has questioned the

¹"It is not his business to have a style,"(i. e., the historian), says Mr. Stephens, at p. 68 of "Counsel upon the reading of books," (edited by Henry Van Dyke), Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1901.

²Frederick York-Powell, at p. vi of Langlois and Seignobos's "Introduction to the study of history." New York: H. Holt & Co., 1898.

extreme positions of Professor Bury, has remarked in a recent review, that "imagination is yet more necessary for the historian," [than for the economist], "if he wishes to discover the causes of man's action not merely as a bread-winning individual, but in all his myriad capacities of passion and of thought. The man who is himself devoid of emotion or enthusiasm can seldom credit, and can never understand, the emotions of others, which have none the less been a principal part in cause and effect."¹

But an almost equally important point in favor of the "literary" view of the matter is concerned with the question of proportion. No history, indeed, is ideally satisfactory in which the perspective is distorted, or in which the emphasis is wrongly placed. Some historians have violated this principle in their selection of a field of study, but the error has more commonly occurred in dealing with the details within any given field of study.

Mr. Freeman and others of his school of historical writing, industrious though they were, have laid themselves open very palpably to this objection, of violating the sense of proportion. Two of the characters introduced into Frederick Harrison's very diverting dialogue, or conversation, on points of view in history,² say things which have a direct bearing on this question of proportion and perspective.

One of these imaginary characters, (all of whom are introduced as Oxford "history men"), demurring at the depreciating view embodied in this statement, gives some definite details as to the methods of historical study in his own department; and his statement recalls the proverbial expression, that "One cannot see the wood for the trees." In answer to a question, he says:

"I have not reached the Norman Conquest yet," * * * "for we have been ten years over the Old-English times; but I hope to get down to Eadweard" [apparently, Edward III], "before I leave the college."³

¹*Living Age*, v. 240, p. 196-97.

²"The history schools," at p. 118-38 of his volume "The meaning of history and other essays." New York: The Macmillan Co., 2d ed., 1900.

³Harrison's "The meaning of history," p. 131.

And he also remarks:

"Well," * * * "for the last three terms we have been on the West-Saxon coinage, and the year before that I took up the system of *frith borrow.*"¹

Obviously a student working under this kind of leader would have to look elsewhere for any such thing as "historical perspective;" and yet historical perspective is a very essential prerequisite of a work of history. For a historical treatise ought to be on a somewhat higher plane as regards perspective, than, for example, a daily newspaper.

What may be called a kindred topic is that of interest. Probably that view of history will hardly be likely to meet with general acceptance, which argues that it is of no consequence whether the work of history, when once written and published, possesses sufficient interest to get itself read. Whether we agree that the essential value of the history of the past is that of supplying a light on the present and future, or not, it is easy to see that a light which does not shine is fruitless and ineffectual.

Nor does it need a great amount of argument to show that, even if arranged in logical order, it ought not to offend by excessive iteration. It is well known how annoying an offender the English historian, Freeman, was in this respect, not only in his published volumes, but in his spoken lectures. In the recently published "Letters" of Dr. William Stubbs, the late Bishop of Oxford and eminent historian, there is evidence that this little failing of Freeman was by no means unnoticed by his brother-historians. In a letter written to Freeman in 1879, Stubbs urges the historian of the "Norman conquest" to make a certain announcement in regard to a previously published statement, "but", he adds, "without *iterating* anything"; and it is amusing to notice that he thought it worth while to underscore the word, "*iterating.*"²

¹Ibid., p. 131. For "frith borrow," see Murray's *New English dictionary*. under "Frithborh," v. 4, p. 555.

²Letters of William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, 1825-1901, edited by William Holden Hutton. London: A. Constable, 1904, p. 182.

Moreover, it is important, from the "literary" side, that the materials should be, so to speak, digested. One of the differences between the type of work known as "annals" or "jottings," on the one hand, and the "history," properly so called, on the other hand, is that the latter is something more than the disorderly assemblage of isolated facts. It is even more than the careful and orderly assemblage of the facts such as an apprentice at the business of historical investigation might bring together on occasion. There is perhaps no one who has more lucidly or more convincingly stated exactly what the historian's duty is in this matter than President Woodrow Wilson, of Princeton, in his exposition of educational methods.

In his chapter on "The truth of the matter", (in the volume, "Mere literature"), he thus states the case:¹

"It is in this that the writing of history differs, and differs very radically, from the statement of the results of original research. The writing of history must be based upon original research and authentic record, but it can no more be directly constructed by the piecing together of bits of original research than by the mere reprinting together of state documents. Individual research furnishes us, as it were, with the private documents and intimate records, without which the public archives are incomplete and unintelligible."

But the need of digesting the materials of history is one which applies even to such data as arguments, as well as to facts. In other words, while it is sometimes fitting that a work of history should embody argumentation, it ought to be what may perhaps be called "implicit" argumentation rather than explicit argumentation. Any writer may easily satisfy himself as to the great advantage which the former possesses, in point of effectiveness, by taking a chain of arguments which stand in rigidly logical form, and translating them into narrative form. The first attempt may perhaps not give precisely the result desired. Nevertheless, by writing and re-writing his narrative, test-

¹Wilson, Woodrow. *Mere literature*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., 1896, p. 171.

ing it each time with the definite questions which would naturally be asked by an opponent, until he finds that they are all represented in the narrative, he will secure the form required. It needs little to convince one that the reader is more likely to yield assent to the truth when presented in this form, than when repeated challenges to his pre-conceived opinions are flaunted in his face, in the shape of bald arguments.

UNFAVORABLE ASPECTS OF THE "LITERARY SIDE."

There is, however, something to be said as to the limitations and dangers of the literary point of view, as well as its strong points. One of these is the failure to be sure that verification shall always follow the exercise of the imagination. A writer who should habituate himself to this faulty method will come in time to be unaware that anything is wrong with his reasoning or his conclusions. But this will inevitably lead to reckless, uncritical, and seriously misleading statements. Some luxuriant specimens of this unbridled use of the imagination will be found in newspapers, and more of them in "prospectuses" and real estate advertisements.

The "literary" point of view is sometimes also found associated with extreme negligence in quoting a statement, simply through underestimating the importance of the manner as compared with the matter. It has sometimes been claimed that a chronic tendency to mis-statement is a disease; and it certainly is found repeatedly where there is no deliberate attempt to deceive. And yet, even if it is a disease, it is a misfortune that our history should be written by men who are afflicted with it. There is scarcely one of the Nineteenth Century historians in whom this tendency has been so glaringly exemplified, as the late James Anthony Froude.¹

¹The fact that a volume bearing the expressive title, "Froudacity," by J. J. Thomas, should have been put in print, in 1889, in order to confute Mr. Froude, is in itself significant.

One of the failings of excessive leaning towards the "literary" view is the failing for picturesqueness. To quote the expressive phrase already cited above, this leads to a feeling that the narrative must be "dressed up." What could be more picturesque than Weems's George Washington story:—"I can't tell a lie, Pa; you know I can't tell a lie. I did cut it with my hatchet."¹ Or the "cabbage story" in which Washington's name was spelled out by the growing plants?² And yet even Jared Sparks, whose position in regard to some questions of editing³ would be regarded as somewhat uncritical, in our day,⁴ strongly protested that he had "very little confidence in the genuineness or accuracy" of the statements of this flighty Virginia parson.⁵ He regarded this and other books by Weems, not as biographies, but as "novels, founded in some parts on facts, and in others on the suggestions of a fertile imagination."⁶

Mischief is also sometimes caused by a mistaken seeking after symmetry, or consistency; and sometimes also by a tendency to resort to analogy unduly. It may be said of analogy, as of fire, that it is a good servant, but a bad master. The principal objection to be brought against this tendency is that it saddles a man with "a fixed idea." At present, for instance, the whole civilized world is looking on with breathless interest, at the upheavals in Russia; and some of us are re-reading our Carlyle's "French Rev-

¹"The Life of George Washington," by Mason Locke Weems, Philadelphia, 1800. Later edition published by Joseph Allen, 1837, p. 14.

²Ibid., p. 15-18.

³Somewhat full opportunities for reviewing the voluminous literature connected with the discussion of Sparks's methods will be found in the references given in Herbert B. Adams's "The life and writings of Jared Sparks," Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., 2 v., 1893, particularly at p. 479-506 and 612-13 of v. 2, and at p. xxvii-xlii of v. 1; and also in Justin Winsor's "Narrative and critical history of America," Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., v. 8, (1889), p. 417-20.

⁴The modern or current point of view is well embodied in the four-page leaflet issued in 1906 by the American Historical Association, comprising "Suggestions for the printing of documents relating to American history," prepared by Edward G. Bourne, Chairman of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Worthington C. Ford, of the Library of Congress, and J. Franklin Jameson, of the Carnegie Institute at Washington.

⁵Adams's "Jared Sparks," v. 2, p. 517.

⁶Ibid., p. 519.

lution." It is all very well to read this study of revolution in a country like France, provided that we do not go to the length of looking for the re-appearance of all the successive stages in the drama now enacting in this other country. It is doubtless true that more than one of the various traits, events, and circumstances observed in the French experience, either has been reproduced in the Russian experience, or may be at some time in the near future. And yet, because of this very fact, that the analogy seems to hold in these few instances, it is all the more the duty of the historian to guard against hasty generalizations as to the remainder of the instances. Suppose, for example, that some leader in the Russian government should lend an ear to advisers who should dwell upon the analogy of the former great catastrophe to the present experiences. Suppose, moreover, that they should not only base predictions and inferences on these analogies, but also definite measures of repression. The probability is by no means a remote one, that in this way, injury and suffering might be inflicted on many entirely innocent men and women.

There is perhaps no more effective way of studying the limitations and tendencies of the "literary" view than in the person of a "literary historian." Macaulay, for example, is pre-eminently entitled to such a designation, for his place in English literature is well assured, whatever may be the ultimate decision as to his position as a historian. To an exceptionally wide range of knowledge, improved by a university education, he added an extraordinary range of reading, and a memory which was nothing short of phenomenal. That his work is not wholly free from inaccuracy¹ is

¹A novel reason is advanced by a recent essayist, to account for the criticism which has been directed, largely within the last thirty years, against the matter and the method of Macaulay's history, namely, the fact that it has come under the observation of a much wider circle of readers than is customary with historians. "That Stubbe, Freeman, Hallam, Gardiner, do not have as many fault-finders as Macaulay is due in a measure, at least, to the fact that they have not one-fiftieth part of his readers; and the readers whom they have belong to certain general classes." ("The vitality of Macaulay," by Henry D. Sedgwick, Jr., in the *Atlantic*, Aug., 1899, v. 84, p. 167. Reprinted in his "Essays on great writers," Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., 1903, at p. 139-97, but with considerable additions and changes.)

perhaps not surprising, when this wide range, just mentioned, is considered. Yet the more serious fact is that he did not approach his task with an absolutely open mind, that his mental attitude sometimes shows not merely prejudice but malignity;¹ and that he was not always magnanimous enough to correct an obvious error.² In repeated instances also, more important considerations were sacrificed, in his narrative, to pictur-esque ness. And yet when all is said, the fact remains that he is a very great historian, and will always have a strong hold on the interest of the reader.³

An equally instructive instance is found in the case of James Anthony Froude.⁴ He resembles Macaulay in making a successful appeal to the interest of the reader. Moreover, if Macaulay is sometimes open to the charge of overloaded rhetoric, Froude was the master of an exquisite English style. There is, however, no other English historian against whom the charge of inaccuracy has lain so heavily. Examples are found in all of his writings, but perhaps an instance in his volume on "Erasmus"⁵ shows it in as striking a manner as any other. In a single paragraph of only eighteen lines, (in which there are sixteen statements), relating to Reuchlin, (says a writer in the

¹As in the Mac Vey Napier "Correspondence," p. 110; also in Trevelyan's "Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay," v. 1, p. 218.

²As in the William Penn instance, and other instances cited in John Paget's "The new examen," Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1861.

³"It has been objected to Macaulay that he is a stranger to the methods and the spirit of what has been called the critical school of history. He is a picturesque narrator, but not, in the sense of that school, a scientific historian." (Sir Richard C. Jebb's "Macaulay,—a lecture delivered at Cambridge on August 10, 1900," Cambridge: University Press, 1900, p. 12-13. One other important limitation is pointed out by Mr. James Cottier Morison. "Macaulay," he says, "never fully appreciated the force of moderation, the impressiveness of calm under-statement, the penetrating power of irony." Morison's "Macaulay", ("English Men of Letters") New York: Harper & Bros., 1882, p. 129.

⁴An interesting volume published within the last twelve months is devoted to an extended study of this historian, namely, "The life of Froude," by Herbert Paul, New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1905. Heretofore the most extended examination of his life and work had been the more than one hundred pages devoted to him in Sir John Skelton's "Table-talk of Shirley," Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1895, p. 119-24.

⁵Froude, James Anthony. *Life and letters of Erasmus*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1894. See p. 182 of this edition.

Quarterly Review, in 1898),¹ there is "one, and only one correct statement". The other fifteen are incorrect. "In the case of Mr. Froude", says the reviewer, "the problem ever is to discover whether he has deviated into truth."² Mr. Harrison complains³ that "this severe judgment" is true not only of Mr. Froude's transcription of documents, but of his lack of precision in his use of language in general, and of his want of "minute fidelity of detail."⁴

There is, however, this additional cause for apprehension, on the part of a reader of Mr. Froude, that in his case the inaccuracy was ingrained, if not constitutional.⁵ Still further, while this inaccuracy is acknowledged and even insisted on, by his most sympathetic biographers,⁶ Mr. Froude himself seemed scarcely aware⁷ of this limitation. Moreover, his inaccuracy has repeatedly taken the peculiarly dangerous form of confusing the references to his sources. "He had," says Mr. Lang, "an unfortunate habit of publishing, *between marks of quotation*, his own *résumé* of the contents of a document. In doing so he would leave out, *with no marks of omission* (. . . .) passages which he thought irrelevant, but which might be all-important

¹Quarterly Review, July, 1898, v. 188, p. 1-30.

²Ibid., p. 3.

³"The historical method of J. A. Froude," by Frederic Harrison, Nineteenth Century, Sept., 1898, v. 44, p. 373-86; reprinted in his volume, "Tennyson, Ruskin, Mill, and other literary estimates." New York: The Macmillan Co., 1900, p. 221-41. See p. 240.

"An almost equally serious indictment of Froude, so far as regards details, is found in the article on "Modern historians and their methods," by H. A. L. Fisher, in the Fortnightly Review, Dec. 1, 1894, v. 62, p. 815. Compare also Langlois and Seignobos's "Introduction to the study of history," p. 125.

"This defect was intensified by the faulty methods of his early education. "The standard of scholarship," says Mr. Paul, "at Buckfastleigh was not high, and Froude's scholarship was inexact." (Paul's "Froude," p. 10.)

"Both Mr. Paul and Mr. Lang. See Paul's "Froude," p. 23, 93, 334; also p. 10, above cited.

Mr. Lang, in his keen examination of "Freeman versus Froude," pauses to remark sadly: "Next, Mr. Froude, with all his diligence and learning, really was inaccurate." (Cornhill Magazine, Feb., 1906, v. 92, p. 253.)

"Mr. Lang quotes Mr. Froude as having "acknowledged to five real mistakes in the whole book, *twelve volumes*," out of those attributed to him; and then adds: "But if the critics only found out 'five real mistakes,' they served the author very ill." (Cornhill Magazine, Feb., 1906, v. 92, p. 257-58.) Mr. Lang then goes on, (p. 258-63), to enumerate instances after instance.

to the sense."¹ Mr. Froude has the distinction of having used original sources on a larger scale than any preceding English historian.² Yet this distinction is largely dimmed by his faulty method of transcribing documents. His eccentricity in this respect has led to the disparaging comment that "A historian is not always known by the archives whose company he keeps."³ His method, instead of being objective, was subjective⁴ in the highest degree. He usually wrote as an avowed advocate.⁵ He "could not write," says Mr. Paul, "without a purpose, nor forget that he was an Englishman and a Protestant."⁶ Instead,

¹Cornhill Magazine, Feb., 1906, v. 92, p. 254.

²The first volume of his "History of England" was published in 1842.

³It is also very well characterised in an amusing skit by Frederic Harrison which created "inextinguishable laughter," at Oxford more than a dozen years ago. This first appeared under the title of "The royal road to history.—An Oxford dialogue," in the Fortnightly Review, Oct. 1, 1893, and was afterwards reprinted, (with the title, "The history schools"), in Mr. Harrison's volume, "The meaning of history," London: Macmillan & Co., 1900, p. 118-38. One of the characters is consumed with laughter at the fact that Mr. Froude has given citations of the documents at Simancas:—"Simancas! Facts! Oh, oh! Simancas indeed! where, what, how much? what volume or what bundle, what page and what folio? Maa penes me—is a very convenient reference, but historians require a little more detail than this." (Harrison's "The meaning of history," p. 128.)

⁴His words, (as printed in one of his latest volumes), are worth reproducing. "I do not pretend," he says, "to impartiality In every conclusion which we form, in every conviction which is forced upon us, there is still a subjective element," (Froude's "Divorce of Catherine of Aragon," London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1891, p. 18. Quoted in E. G. Bourne's "Essays in historical criticism," New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1901, p. 295-96.)

⁵Such frankness is commendable; and yet, as Mr. Lang reminds us, Mr. Froude apparently did nothing to neutralise his bias. "In studying the personal aspects of history," says Mr. Lang, Froude "not only had a bias, but he cultivated and cherished his bias. Now every historian, every man, has a bias; but he may get the better of it, as did Mr. Gardiner and Sir Walter Scott, of all our British historians the most scrupulously fair and sportsmanlike. Scott was a born Tory, or even Jacobite. Mr. Gardiner was, I believe, a Liberal from the cradle. But you cannot discover their party in their historical works." (Cornhill Magazine, Feb. 1906, v. 92, p. 253.)

⁶The judicial point of view apparently did not appeal to him. "He was," says Mr. Paul, "an advocate rather than a judge." (Paul's "Froude," p. 92.) It is as an advocate, somewhat grimly to be sure, that he makes his appearance in the pages of his "History of England," when, in chronicling the order of "The King's royal Majesty," (in the 22d year of Henry VIII, 1531) "that the said Richard Rouse shall be therefore boiled to death, without having any advantage of his clergy," he characterizes the spirit of this inhuman action as "a temper which would keep no terms with evil." (Froude's "History of England," (Am. ed.), New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co., v. 1, p. 287.) Compare also the Edinburgh Review, (Am. ed.), v. 108, p. 119-20.

¹Paul's Froude, p. 229.

therefore, of entering on his study of this tangled subject with an open mind,¹—a peculiarly necessary condition when religious questions are concerned,—he carried an unyielding prejudice with him from the start. It was thus, (says his biographer, Mr. Paul), that, “in his zeal to justify the penal laws against the Catholics, Froude accepted without sufficient inquiry evidence which could only have satisfied one willing to believe the worst.”²

It was Mr. Froude’s fortune, during his lifetime, to have as an antagonist another well known English historian, Edward A. Freeman; and, considering the decidedly vulnerable nature of Mr. Freeman’s historical work and procedure, it may be considered to be Mr. Froude’s great good fortune, that he is even now brought into comparison³ with that writer, now that both are dead. The “*Tu quoque*” argument is an effective one for the time being. Time, however, sifts all things, and sooner or later each historian will stand on his own merits.

FAVORABLE ASPECTS OF THE “SCIENTIFIC SIDE.”

Having examined both the favorable and unfavorable aspects of the “literary” point of view, it is now in order to interrogate the “scientific” point of view in the same way.

Science, as has already been stated, is concerned with the ascertainment of facts, by systematic processes, accompanied by rigid verification.

¹An open mind has not always been sufficiently valued in religious discussion. “As regards religious questions,” says President Faunce, of Brown University, “there are various specific subjects, on which men may differ, but the really fundamental difference is that between the man with the open mind and the man with the closed mind.”

²Paul’s “Froude,” p. 229.

³See chapter 5 of Paul’s volume, (“Froude and Freeman); also Andrew Lang’s article, “Freeman versus Froude,” already cited, (Cornhill Magazine, Feb., 1906, v. 92, p. 251-63.) This example has been very generally followed by the writers of the more or less critical notices of Mr. Paul’s book, in England and in this country, so much so that one would almost suppose that it is Mr. Freeman whose life and writings were in question. A somewhat different point of view is taken by Goldwin Smith, in his article on “Froude” in the Atlantic Monthly, May, 1906, v. 97, p. 680-87.

The fundamental conception, in history, from this point of view, is that of passing upon the facts of history with the critical discrimination of a judge, rather than with the partisan ardor of an advocate. It is, in brief, the "judicial" view of history. Its aim is to state "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." Its spirit has been well expressed in these words of the German historian, Ranke, already quoted:—"Ich will nur sagen wie es eigentlich gewesen ist." Its desire for the truth is well embodied also in these words of Professor H. Morse Stephens: "The aim of the historian is to discover the truth with regard to the past, as far as his limitations allow, and having so far discovered it to narrate the truth without obtruding his own personality or his own ideas more than his weak humanity makes inevitable."¹ "It is a hard enough and a difficult enough task that the modern historian sets before himself. Truth is a very unapproachable mistress". * * *. "It is disheartening and heart-breaking to the historical student to know how little the most accomplished and hard-working historian can do towards building a palace in which Truth may live."²

The scientific point of view will of course operate to put the writer on his guard against the subjective treatment of history, as opposed to the purely objective treatment. To Ranke, the great German master of historical writing in the last century,—even though such writers as Lamprecht are now succeeding to his supremacy,—we owe some of the most emphatic statements of this doctrine; and they are embodied especially in a noteworthy address on Ranke by his pupil, Dr. von Sybel, published in the *Historische Zeitschrift* in 1886.

"A subjective element," says Dr. von Sybel, "always tends to mingle itself with the historian's conception, after every narrative; and it is the problem of historical investigation, by eliminating this, to hold up the true picture of the thing itself." ("In diese seine Auffassung mischt sich

¹In "Counsel upon the reading of books," p. 92-93.

²Ibid., p. 93.

aber nach aller Erfahrung stets ein subjektives Element, und durch dessen Auseheidung des wirkliche Bild des Thatbestandes zu erhalten ist die Ausgabe der historischen Kritik.”¹

With the action of every-day life there is inextricably mingled a large share of “likes and dislikes.” There are few, however, who would wish to see these reproduced in the printed volumes which form our libraries of history. Hasty and impulsive utterances therefore will be carefully eliminated from his narrative by the judicious writer, however naturally they may occur to his mind.² It is a great art to obtain the proper position of unbiased judgment in these cases,—of complete “detachment”,³ to use the phrase of the late Lord Acton, who was himself an admirable embodiment of this ideal, in his historical work.

The question of prejudice is occasionally of far-reaching importance,—particularly when its existence is unsuspected or, possibly, “subliminal.” “Know thyself” is an injunction which all of us would gladly comply with, if possible. And yet, who of us can be sure that, even in the matter of underlying prejudices, one can really know himself? The man of today lives in an atmosphere,—so far as likes and dislikes, or thoughts and beliefs are concerned,—which is partly created by the general level of public opinion in the person’s own community; partly by the person’s own

¹“Gedächtnisrede auf Leopold v. Ranke,” by Heinrich von Sybel, in Historische Zeitschrift, v. 56, (1886), p. 474.

²And yet it is not an unprecedented occurrence for utterances like these to get into print under the guise of history, as in the case of the bulky volume of more than 750 pages, by the late Gen. John A. Logan, published under the title of “The great conspiracy,” in 1885. Of this work, a reviewer in the Nation, (June 3, 1886, v. 42, p. 475), writes: “It is not a history, although it purports to be one. It is rather what might be called a narrative stump speech, with no limitation as to time of delivery, except the orator’s good pleasure or fatigue.” In his excited peroration, the author passes from Italics to small capitals, and from these to capitals, under the influence of the strong feeling,—not to say “prejudice,”—which animates the book, as follows: “Like the Old Man of the Sea, they are *now on top*, and they *MEAN TO KEEP THEM IF THEY CAN.*” (“The great conspiracy,” by John A. Logan, New York: A. R. Hart & Co., 1885, p. 674.)

³See Lord Acton’s “Lecture on the study of history,” (inaugural lecture at the University of Cambridge, 1895), p. 4. Elsewhere in the same lecture, he commends in Ranke what Michelet calls “le désinteressement des morts,” p. (51).

immediate environment; more by tradition, perhaps; but even more by heredity.

The work of one other eminent German authority is partially accessible to English readers, namely, that of Johann Gustav Droysen, whose "Grundriss der Historik," (1868), was translated into English by Dr. E. Benjamin Andrews, under the title of "Outline of the principles of history", Boston; Ginn & Co., 1893. The translator cites, (p. viii), as one of the reasons why, in his judgment, such a treatise is needed, in English, as follows:

"In most directions one finds a stronger zeal for the knowledge of history than for the understanding of history. We are so busy at gathering facts that no time is left us to reflect upon their deeper meanings. Too many who wish to be considered historians seem hardly less enthusiastic over the history of some town pump, provided it is 'fresh' and 'written from the sources,' than over that of the rise of a constitution."

In 1889 appeared a comprehensive treatise by Ernst Bernheim, entitled "Lehrbuch der historischen Methode, mit Nachweis der wichtigsten Quellen und Hülfs-mittel zum Studium der Geschichte," published at Leipzig, by Duncker, (2d edition in 1894). An equally noteworthy volume, in another language, appeared in 1898, namely, "Introduction aux études historiques," by C. V. Langlois and C. Seignobos, Paris; Hachette et Cie. In the same year appeared the English translation, "Introduction to the study of history," (by Langlois and Seignobos), translated by G. G. Berry, and containing a preface by the late Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, Frederick York-Powell. New York; H. Holt & Co. The subjects are treated with great acuteness, (as in the chapter on "The negative internal criticism of the good faith and accuracy of authors", (p. 155-90), and with characteristic French lucidity.

One of the latest of these admirably comprehensive European studies appeared in 1903, namely "Die Wert-schätzung in der Geschichte; eine kritische Untersuchung," by Arvid Grotenholt, Leipzig: Veit & Co.

Although this work¹ is published in the German language, the learned author is a lecturer on psychology at the University of Helsingfors, in Finland. In the chapter, "Die Ausscheidung des Bedeutsamen", typical instances of recent and contemporary historians are examined, including Ranke, Buckle, Lamprecht, etc., p. 129-75.²

It is an interesting fact that the latest historian of Rhode Island³ has incidentally indicated, by a statement, in one of his letters, that he is thoroughly in accord with the principle above cited, from Dr. von Sybel. Mr. Richman's statement is as follows:

"The narrative part was finished before I began to group the philosophy therein. I finished the narrative, and then, on revising it, began to understand its philosophical significance. This so struck me that I went back over my work, and, without bending it at all, merely pointed out its teaching. This, it seems to me, is exactly what the historical investigator should do—study his facts, and *then*, if he finds meaning therein, announce it."⁴

Nor must the historian's attitude be that of undervaluing the effort required; for a fundamental principle is a constant recognition of the difficulty of getting at the truth of any occurrence. It must be assumed, at the outset, that the testimony will vary, and will vary very widely.

In Browning's "The Ring and the Book", we have the story told of the self-same thing, by all of the various parties to the transaction, respectively. We have the story as told by Count Guido Franceschini, who has been accused of committing the murder. There is also the narrative of the priest, Giuseppe Caponsacchi. There is the

¹Reviewed in the *Athenaeum*, (London), March 12, 1904, p. 233-34.

²An admirable volume which does not purport to be a comprehensive treatise, but merely "Essays in historical criticism," was published by our associate, Professor Edward G. Bourne, in 1901, as one of the "Yale Bicentennial Publications."

³Richman, Irving Berdine. *Rhode Island: its making and its meaning.* 2 v. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902.

⁴This extract from Mr. Richman's letter is printed in the *Nation*, Feb. 5, 1903, v. 76, p. 110. It is noteworthy that this book cannot in any way be traced to "ancestor worship. The author was born in Iowa, nearly a thousand miles away from Rhode Island, and had never been in [Rhode Island] until he came there to begin his investigations. Among his ancestors there is not a single Rhode Island family, and not even a single New England family."

narrative of Pompilia herself, as told in the interval between her striking down and the drawing of her last breath. There are also the statements presented by the counsel for the defendant and the public prosecutor respectively. There are also three most ingenious and skilful attempts at expressing the "public opinion" of Pompilia's community, as we may call it, (in some ways the most difficult of all the narratives), entered under the head of "Half-Rome," "The other half-Rome," and "Tertium quid". There is, moreover, the review of the whole case, by the Pope, minutely examining every detail, and reaching conclusions in a most judicial manner. And thus Browning places before us in an almost incredibly illuminating manner, what he calls

"pure crude fact
Secreted from man's life, when hearts beat hard."¹

This has an especially important bearing on that phase of the historian's work which deals with the examination of other men's testimony, rather than with the gathering of facts at first hand. Specific instances of historical sifting of testimony will be brought under consideration, later.

One of the first things to which the historian needs to turn his attention in his examination of the medium through which his information or material reaches him, is the question of prejudice. It is of vital consequence to him to know whether the facts have reached him distorted by prejudice, and colored by excited feeling. Obviously the writer who is setting down a dispassionate narrative of religious history, in using the immense mass of "controversial" or "polemical" pamphlets which strew the shore of literature like driftwood, must start by recognizing the existence of the "odium theologicum," and do his best to exercise a wise discrimination. As with religion, so with politics. About 25 years ago the late Alexander Johnston published what was at once recognized as a

¹Browning's "The Ring and the Book," book 1, lines 35-36.

"colorless"¹ work on American politics.² How notable an achievement it was, to present a colorless narrative of the seething mass of heated and prejudiced American politics, any one who has searched through a large collection of American pamphlets will easily recognize.

There is another aspect of the matter which must give us pause. It is that of the tendency of perhaps the typical liberal or unprejudiced man to be slightly deficient in some one direction. Like Achilles, who was vulnerable at the heel alone, there is, in the case of these men who are broad and liberal minded, on the whole, some one subject on which they develop astonishing antipathies. It is surely not in the nature of man to be absolutely perfect; and the imperfection of human nature will assert itself, do what one will. But we need to guard most carefully against the penetration of this prejudiced view into history, and to be able to recognize it and be on our guard against it when it has, by any means, penetrated into this field.³

There are some who affect to underrate the objectionable features of prejudice, and even to glorify what is regarded as "a wholesome prejudice."⁴ None the less, however, the existence of prejudice is a deplorable thing,—not to say, detestable,—in even an ordinary individual, guiltless of any attempts to write history or any other form of literature. In a historian, however, it is nothing less than shocking; and the instances which are on record, as well

¹In this term, "colorless," lies a concise characterization of the point of view of the historians who look to Ranke as their master. "Ranke," says Lord Acton, "is the representative of the age which instituted the modern study of history. He taught it to be critical, to be colorless, and to be new." "Lecture on the study of history," p. 48.)

²Johnston, Alexander. *History of American politics*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1880.

³"Improvement," says John Stuart Mill, (in his St. Andrew's "Inaugural address," Feb. 1, 1867), "consists in bringing our opinions into nearer agreement with facts; and we shall not be likely to do this while we look at facts only through glasses colored by those very opinions." Mill's "Inaugural address," p. 25, (reprinted at p. 349 of v. 4 of his "Dissertations and discussions," New York: H. Holt & Co., 1874.)

⁴A writer in the *Athenaeum*, (Nov. 4, 1905, p. 603), mildly protests, and perhaps justly, against that perversion of impartiality which may be described as "inhuman." But these instances are certainly rare.

authenticated, of deep and implacable prejudices, on the part of men of the highest order of historical talents, such as Macaulay¹ and Freeman,² are an impressive testimony to the possibilities which exist, of perverting history. It is bad enough to find so low a conception of history as that which regards it simply "as a club," with which to thump those unpleasant people who do not agree with us, on the part of individuals and historical societies whose opportunities for developing a more enlightened view have been limited; but to find a similar failing, in the case of the more enlightened leaders, is inexpressibly depressing. Again, the critical student of history needs to be able to discern whether the writers whose historical discussions are under criticism can properly distinguish between matters of fact and matters of opinion. Strange as it may seem, this is a failure which is not uncommon.

It is, however, the judicial element which is fundamental, in any scientific view of history. The historian is expected to be something more than the witness, offering testimony, and presenting it in a confused and unintelligent manner. He is expected to be something quite the reverse of the advocate, presenting a one-sided view of the case. On the contrary, it is the procedure on the bench which supplies the closest analogy to the aims and methods of the conscientious historian.

We may here perhaps appropriately consider for a moment an interesting paradox of judicial experience, namely, that it is sometimes the special pleaders at the bar who, on being elevated to the bench, become distinguished as among the most "judicial" of judges. And in-

¹"See whether I do not dust that varlet's jacket for him in the next number of the *Blue and Yellow*. I detest him more than cold boiled veal." In such a Christian temper wrote Macaulay to his sister, in 1831, of a contemporary statesman and littérateur, John Wilson Croker. (Trevelyan's "Life and letters of Lord Macaulay," (Am. ed.), New York: Harper & Bros., 1875, v. 1, p. 218.)

²"I shall disembowel James Anthony Froude." These are the words in which Mr. Freeman gleefully notes down the fact of an error discovered in a volume of Froude, as scribbled on the margin of his own copy. (Mr. Lang, in *Cornhill*, Feb., 906, v. 92, p. 253.)

deed there is one curious and instructive phase of this experience, namely, when such a judge finds himself called upon to pass mental judgment on an advocate who is disposed to press his argument too far. It is, of course, the duty of the advocate to be in a certain sense "a special pleader," and his obligations to his client make it necessary that he shall select and arrange his facts so skilfully as to produce great weight in favor of his client, in the minds of the jury, of the audience, and,—I may add,—of any judge who has not known these ways of special pleaders, "at first hand." But as the advocate goes over this ground, the judge can say to himself,—"There he is again with his flimsy reasoning. What rot! Does he really think that he can pull the wool over anybody's eyes?" When, therefore, the judge comes to the summing up of the case, in his own mind, he gives no more weight to this plea than it actually deserves; and he thus is able to protect the interests of the public.

Still further, although the judge may from time to time feel impatience at such extreme presentations of the case by an advocate, he is, on the whole, by no means averse to seeing an argument pushed to the extreme, so that one can really see "all that there is in it." In other words, he knows the value of having the case thoroughly "threshed out," as the phrase runs. Probably in thus getting a case "threshed out," there is inevitably a certain amount of injustice done, to the interests of one side or the other, by thus going to the extreme. But probably, also, there will not be, in our time at least, a method of legal procedure which will come nearer than this to meeting the needs, and fulfilling the interests of the entire community,—in spite of all its drawbacks. And, so far as the judge himself is concerned, while he will sometimes involuntarily exclaim against the absurdity of some claim, he will at other times have to acknowledge to himself: "Well, now, I never should have thought of that!"

To all this, the procedure of the historian, in his critical examination of the writings of other authors, supplies a close analogy. If he should be making an exhaustive study of some given subject, he can hardly afford to pass over without examination even the most foolish of the books and pamphlets on the subject;—and there are some subjects which prove to be very prolific in foolish pamphlets. The analogy, as I have said, is a close one; and yet there is one particular in which it apparently does not quite hold;—the fact that, as Mr. Harrison has reminded us,¹ “cross-examination² is impossible or, at least, difficult to the historian.”

What would one not give for the opportunity to put the necessary questions, which, in the hands of a skilful cross-examiner, would cause the facts to leap to light! Such, for instance, as in Mr. Charles E. Hughes's examination of the Vice-President of the New York Life Insurance Company, resulting in the quite reluctant testimony of the witness, that a certain loan was made Dec. 31, 1904, and repaid five days later, Jan. 5, 1905,—after the occasion for making an official report had passed.³

And yet, even though all the parties to the transaction are themselves dead, and although the events may be those of four centuries ago, an at least approximately useful result may follow from the prolonged and detailed discussion of the subject in print by those who hold opposing views in regard to it.

THE “SQUIRE PAPERS.”

In this, as in other fields of study or thought, we may best learn from a specific instance. One of the most judicial of

¹Harrison's “The meaning of history,” p. 134.

²“Cross-examination, nevertheless, would be invaluable to the writer who has to set down accurately any set of facts, historical or otherwise; and any historian can find suggestions of value in such a work as “The art of cross-examination,” by Mr. Wellman. “People,” says Mr. Wellman, “as a rule do not reflect upon their meagre opportunities for observing facts, and rarely suspect the frailty of their own powers of observation.” (At p. 27 of “The art of cross-examination,” by Francis L. Wellman, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1903.)

³Reported in the daily newspapers of Sept. 28, and Sept. 29, 1905.

our modern historians was the late Samuel Rawson Gardiner, the eminent English writer who so admirably covered the period of the Stuarts and the Commonwealth.¹ The opportunity presented itself to him, to resort to a process analogous to cross-examination, when he came to that precise portion of his narrative which is covered by the so-called "Squire papers".

Let me interrupt the order of this paper for a moment, to explain briefly what these "Squire papers" were, which had the interesting fate of being presented to the consideration of Carlyle in 1847, and of Gardiner in 1885,—their authenticity having been questioned in each instance. Samuel Squire, whose name has become associated with these documents, was one of the soldiers of Oliver Cromwell. These thirty-five letters, purporting to have been written by Cromwell himself, belong to the years 1641-45.² They were brought to Carlyle's attention in 1847, two years after his work on "Oliver Cromwell's letters and speeches" had been published in 1845, and it was William Squire, a descendant of Samuel Squire, who placed them in his hands. Whatever examination of the letters was undertaken ended in their being accepted as genuine by Carlyle; and they were printed as an appendix to one of the volumes, (vol. 2), of Carlyle's "Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches", when this work went through a later edition, in 1857. The controversy then slept for many years, till it was precipitated again by a discussion in the *Academy*, (the English critical journal), in regard to the date of death of Cromwell's son.³ The discussion, however, almost immediately shifted to the broader question of the genuineness of the Squire papers, and was

¹When Mr. Gardiner died, in 1902, his series of volumes covering the history of England in the Seventeenth Century, extended from 1607 to 1656, (published between 1869 and 1901.)

²To be found in print, in *Fraser's Magazine*, Dec., 1847, v. 36, p. 631-54; *Littell's Living Age*, Jan. 29, 1848, v. 16, p. 214-24; in Chapman & Hall's "People's edition" of Carlyle's "Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches," ed. of 1857, v. 2, p. 261-96; also in later editions, as in the "Centenary edition", v. 7, (1897), p. 338-76.

³Letter of S. R. Gardiner, *Academy*, March 14, 1885, v. 27, p. 188.

continued, (first in the pages of the Academy, and later in the pages of the English Historical Review), for the next two years; in other words, from March 14, 1885, to April, 1887. There were several correspondents who participated in the discussion, but it was, after all, chiefly instructive for the contributions made to it by three eminent men. These were Mr. William Aldis Wright, the acute Shakespearian critic; Mr. Walter Rye, an eminent authority on public records; and Mr. Gardiner himself. Mr. Wright was inclined to the belief that the papers were genuine, and that they were trustworthy material for any historian who should use them. He showed no heat in his argument, and, while falling into some errors himself, pointed out very lucidly several which were made by his opponents. Although Mr. Wright's argument was conducted with much ability, an impartial review of the whole subject, after the lapse of about twenty years, leaves the impression that, on the whole, the truth was on the other side,—or at least not on his side. In the second place, Mr. Rye held the view that the papers were not genuine;—a position which he argued with much heat. Although some of the positions which he maintained are those which have come to be accepted, it is probable that, at the time, he occasionally did more damage to his side than real service, through his dogmatic attitude, and his hot-headedness, which led him, in more than one instance, into situations from which he extricated himself with great difficulty. While these are qualities which cannot commend him, yet it ought to be said,—parenthetically,—that Mr. Rye had certain other qualities which do commend him, including a strong sense of humor. I cannot resist the temptation to cite a striking instance of this, taken from the preface to a volume, (on another subject), which he published in 1888. He writes as follows: "That I must have made innumerable omissions and mistakes I know well enough; but I ask my readers to be merciful, and to

send me, more in sorrow than in anger, their corrections and additions."¹

Lastly, Mr. Gardiner, although frankly avowing his position at the beginning of the discussion, as that of dissatisfaction with the evidence in favor of the Squire papers, was plainly in search, throughout the entire correspondence, of the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. During the discussion, even he was led into some untenable positions, from which he immediately withdrew when these were shown in their true light. On the whole, however, his letters succeeded in laying bare the weak points in the Squire papers; and these were not few. It is significant, that his letters had the effect of drawing the comments of the other parties to the discussion in such a way as to exhibit,—for him, and for any one else interested in the subject,—nearly every conceivable phase of it; and in this way he secured what was analogous to the effect of cross-examination, in court. When Mr. Gardiner reached his final conclusion, this conclusion proved to be an eminently judicial one. He expressed no judgment whatever as to whether the Squire letters had been, on the one hand, forged throughout, or whether, on the other hand, they were genuine letters which had been recklessly tampered with. To use his own language, the papers were "unavailable for historical purposes."² This question was, after all, his chief concern; and it is an interesting fact that in the two volumes³ of his great work which cover any part of the period in question, (1641-45),⁴ no mention whatever is made of the "Squire papers" in the text, or in the index, or anywhere else.

¹Rye, Walter. *Records and record searching: a guide to the genealogist and topographer.* Published in the United States, by Cupples & Hurd, Boston, 1889, p. ii.

²S. R. Gardiner, in *English Historical Review*, July, 1886, v. 1, p. 520.

³"The fall of the monarchy of Charles I," v. 2, 1640-42, (pub. 1882) and the "History of the great Civil War," v. 1 1642-44, (pub. 1886).

⁴The earliest letter of the thirty-five is dated "March, 1641," and the latest "March 3, 1645."

To one who is unfamiliar with historical investigation and its methods, this may perhaps seem a "lame and impotent conclusion", but not to the real historian,—certainly not to Mr. Gardiner himself. "Art is long", declares the poet, in the well-known lines, but so also is the art of historical investigation; and some of its fundamental prerequisites, as illustrated in this instance of Mr. Gardiner, are patience, restraint, and scrupulous regard for the truth. Indeed, it is not an uncommon experience for the historian to have to be content, (as the late Sir Leslie Stephen has so well put it,) "to toil for hours with the single result of having to hold his tongue."¹ It is certainly better to discover definitely that there is no evidence, than to assume the existence of evidence and to be obliged to retreat from this assumption, later.

The result reached in Mr. Gardiner's² case, besides being one which accords with the judicial view of historical method, accords with much of the experience which awaits any man who undertakes to carry the judicial temper into every-day life. For instance, we will suppose that you meet an acquaintance on the street, who is laboring under great excitement. "Well," you say, "what has happened?" "Great heavens!", he cries, "Did you ever see such injustice! I have just taken a civil service examination, and failed to pass. But then, everybody knows that a man of my politics stands no chance whatever." And plainly he expects you to believe that that is actually the cause. As a matter of fact, you neither believe it nor disbelieve it. The

¹Stephen, Sir Leslie. *Studies of a biographer*, v. 1, (1898), p. 22.

²It is significant that although Mr. Gardiner has an exalted opinion of Carlyle's "monumental work," he has found occasion to distrust his editorial methods. Commenting, in 1901, on one of Cromwell's letters, Mr. Gardiner writes: "Carlyle here, as in so many other places, amends the text without warning." (Gardiner's "History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate," v. 3, p. 27.) As Spenser has been called "the poet's poet," so Gardiner may perhaps be called "the historian's historian," so strikingly do his qualities of caution, accuracy, candor, and sanity appeal to one who writes history. Mr. James F. Rhodes, for instance, in a brief but significant appreciation of Gardiner, in the *Atlantic*, remarks: "We know the history of England from 1603 to 1658 better than we do that of any other period of the world; and for this we are indebted mainly to Samuel Rawson Gardiner." (*Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1902, v. 80, p. 701.)

statement is held in your mind, (just as some substances are held undissolved in water), because you have not the necessary data which would lead to any opinion on the subject on one side or the other.

The determination of motive constitutes one of the most perplexing of all the problems which a judge is ever called upon to solve; and the same thing is true of the judicial historian. It is true that one of the first questions which the judge is actually obliged to ask himself, in considering the action of a party to a lawsuit, and also one of the first questions which the historian is obliged to ask himself, in studying the career of a character in history, is this:—"What was the motive in the case?" This is a question, moreover, which, if asked by a conscientious judge, is put with an absolute recognition of the fact that the complexity of conditions may possibly make this attempted interpretation of motive not only difficult but misleading. The judge consequently, in his consideration of the defendant's case, mentally takes up one motive after another, bringing them all to as rigid a test as possible, in connection with what is known of the man's actions, and dropping the hypothesis whenever it is not found to stand the test. In other words, the judge's aim, or underlying principle, must be this:—"All that there is in it"; and it will necessarily be embodied not only in the complete "threshing out" which the case gets in court, but in that even more difficult and more determined canvassing which it gets in the judge's own mind, in the mental review and analysis which he gives it. In the case of a conscientious judge, determined to hold, as his own opinion in the matter, nothing which will not stand the uttermost test, it may well be imagined how exhaustive,—nay, how exhausting,—must be the mental processes required. There is a most skilful portrayal of such a judge, in one of Anthony Trollope's less important stories of English life. This story is "John Caldigate," published in 1879; and it is, on the whole, a most disagreeable and

depressing piece of literary work. Yet in his chapter on "Judge Bramber", Trollope has admirably set forth what must be the ideal mental attitude not only of the impartial judge, but of the conscientious historian as well. Judge Bramber had great difficulty in getting into his mind a conception of that view of the case which the reader knows, (from the previous chapters of the book), to be the true one, because it is really a very unusual and improbable point of view, on the part of the defendant. The judge's wrestling with the case is a long, determined, and painful one. Yet he finally does reach this view of the case, and renders his decision. In other words, he satisfies himself that in this particular instance the unexpected and the improbable could occur,—and did occur.

As in Biblical criticism, so in historical criticism, both the higher criticism and the textual criticism have their place. As an instance of textual criticism, in the discussion of the "Squire papers" already referred to, may be cited the letter¹ in which Cromwell wrote the date,—if he did actually write this letter,—as "Christmas Eve." At first sight, this would appear to be conclusive evidence against the genuineness of the letter. Would so uncompromising a Puritan as Cromwell, use a prohibited expression like this, in the thick of the Puritan conflict? Mr. Gardiner, writing in the *Academy*, asks, with rather telling effect,—"What would a collector of autographs of the twentieth century say if he were asked to buy a supposed letter of Simeon or Wilberforce, dated 'The Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary'?"² Mr. Wright, in the same journal, two weeks later, remarks sagaciously: "An Act of Parliament can do much, but it cannot eradicate a long-standing personal habit,"³ and this is a consideration which ought to give us pause when we are unduly hasty

¹Carlyle's "Oliver Cromwell," (People's edition), London: Chapman & Hall, v. 2, p. 288. Also, in the "Centenary edition," London: Chapman & Hall, v. 7, (1897), p. 367. The year of this letter is 1643.

²Academy, March 28, 1885, v. 27, p. 224.

³Academy, April 11, 1886, v. 27, p. 260.

in accepting a conclusion, simply on the basis of some textual detail. Nevertheless, in this particular instance, there is a significant, and perhaps conclusive, phase of the subject which is cited by Mr. Gardiner, as follows:—“Christmas Eve, too, in 1643 of all years, when the observance of Christmas was for the first time forbidden in London, Christmas Day having in 1642 fallen on a Sunday.”¹

One of the distinctively “textual” studies which was connected with the investigation of the “Squire papers” was concerned with the Puritan names. In particular, it related to the Christian names of the rank and file of Cromwell’s army, which have been commonly supposed to be Old Testament names,—and very grotesque ones at that. This impression, widespread as it is, does not stand the test of investigation; but it has been due very largely to the use of such names in historical novels, such as Scott’s “Woodstock”, and in some of the dramas of the Restoration period, as well as to some unfounded statements in Hume and other historians. It needs to be said also that the most uncouth of all these names, “Praise-God Barebone,” was an actual name, (though the best authorities agree that the names which have traditionally been associated with his sons were imaginary,—namely, “Christ-Came-Into-The-World-To-Save-Barebone”, and “If-Christ-Had-Not-Died-Then-Thou-Hadst-Been-Damned-Barebone).² And yet “Praise-God Barebone” was not a representative instance, but an exceptional instance. One of the most painstaking and thorough studies of this subject was made by Mr. Edward Peacock, an English antiquary, about ten years before the “Squire” discussion just referred to,—namely in the *Academy* in 1875. Mr. Peacock selected his names from various representative sources, in the Seventeenth Century and in the Nineteenth Century, respectively, but usually from enrollment lists. He thus obtained a

¹Academy, March 28, 1885, v. 27, p. 224.

²Article, “Barbon,” or “Barebone,” in “Dictionary of national biography,” v. 3, (1885), p. 151-53, by A. B. Grosart.

total of 3,207 names. Having done this, he sifted out from each of the two sets of lists the Old Testament names; and, to the great surprise of most of those who had followed his studies, it was found that the percentage of Old Testament names was not very much greater in the wars of the Commonwealth than in our own time. For instance, comparing roll for roll, he finds 76 Old Testament names in one of these Seventeenth Century lists. But he also finds as many as 55, in a Lincolnshire list of 1852.¹

This being the case, what is the percentage of Old Testament names to be found in the lists included in the alleged Squire letters? They are found there, as Mr. Peacock shows us,² in so overwhelming a percentage as to place it at once in strong contrast to such other lists of the Commonwealth period as have been preserved. This very fact invites suspicion. "It is, however," says Mr. Peacock, "quite reasonable to suppose that a forger who believed that Biblical names were very common in the Puritan armies, when manufacturing lists of names, should have used such names freely."³

One has only to ask this question, however:— "Who gave these Cromwellian leaders their Christian names?" They certainly did not name themselves. Had they done so, their names would doubtless have been emphatically of the Old Testament type, (as in fact were the names which they themselves gave to their sons). But, on the contrary, the names given to these Parliamentary fighters,—men who were then from forty to sixty years of age,—were given to them back in Queen Elizabeth's reign, when it was still the natural and obvious course to name a boy Henry, or Richard, or Walter, in most instances, rather than Zebediah, or Jonadab, or Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz. A crafty fabricator, who should aim to place his fabrications beyond suspicion, by the choice of Christian names, is

¹Academy, July 24, 1875, v. 8, p. 92.

²Academy, April 18, 1885, v. 27, p. 275.

³Ibid.

quite likely not to have been crafty¹ enough to avoid this kind of contingency. It is another case of

"the engineer
Hoist with his own petard."²

DIFFICULTIES OF EXACT NARRATION.

In those cases where the historian is obliged to draw an inference, there are plenty of chances that he will be in some way tripped up. One of the most subtle of these mishaps is due to the fact that the major premise itself stands for a pure assumption. Were it not for this, the inference drawn would be beyond challenge. For example, some historian of modern Europe might have framed such a syllogism as this:—*Major premise*: The French Revolution was a world-wide calamity. *Minor premise*: The tendencies in Hungary and Poland in 1850 are a reproduction of the spirit of the French Revolution. *Conclusion*: Therefore the tendencies in Hungary and Poland in 1850 presage a world-wide calamity. Far more common, however, is that type of logical miscarriage which grows out of a wrong conclusion from the premises,—in other words, a “non-sequitur.” Mr. Crothers has so delightfully treated this subject, in his recent article, “How to know the fallacies,”³ that they need not be enumerated here.

Above all things, discrimination is necessary. Whether delivered from the bench, or formulated by a historian, a decision ought to be based on logical inferences, if possible; and yet it is undeniable that inferences are too often drawn from very slender data. A defect of some

¹A similar instance of work which was clever, but not quite clever enough, is to be seen in connection with the fabricated “Cape-Fear Mercury,” which was very skillfully exposed by A. S. Salley, Jr., and Worthington C. Ford, (“Dr. S. Millington Miller and the Mecklenburg Declaration”), *American Historical Review*, April, 1906, v. 11, p. 548-58.

²Below are given references, approximately complete, to this entire discussion, 1885-87, begun in the pages of the *Academy*, and transferred to those of the *English Historical Review*, as soon as that began publication, in 1886.

Academy, v. 27, p. 188, 206-7, 224-25, 243, 250-61, 275, 276, 295, 312-13, 331. *English Historical Review*, v. 1, p. 311-48, 517-21, 744-56; v. 2, p. 142-48, 342-43.

³*Atlantic Monthly*, Nov., 1905, v. 96, p. 617-28. Reprinted in his volume, “*The Pardoners Wallet*,” p. 82-118. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., 1905.

kind, either in one of the premises or in the other, or in the conclusion, has been repeatedly found to impair the validity of such logical reasoning. A writer having stated one of his premises will sometimes proceed to the next one by saying: "We may perhaps venture to assume", etc., the sad truth being that in many instances one ought *not* to "venture to assume". The main danger, however, seems to lie in drawing the conclusion; and the tendency to a "non sequitur" is quite too common. It is as if one should say: "The sky is clear this morning." "Moreover, I see an automobile coming up the street." "Therefore it will rain before night." The writer would find it hopelessly difficult to explain why this conclusion follows, from these premises, but no more difficult than the writers of some historical studies.

Partly in the same line of thought as this, is this other general principle, that one may possibly be too much under the influence of some proverb or aphorism, of wide acceptance, and thus run the risk of doing injustice alike to a writer and to a historic character. One such proverbial idea is expressed in the classical quotation, "Ex pede Herculem". While it is true that in a large number of instances an opportunity to view a part, gives one a correct idea of the whole, yet the instances which constitute an exception to this rule are so recurrent and so important, that every historian needs to be on his guard in this matter. The treatment of a historic character like Cromwell is a case in point. Few things are more striking, in the historical literature of the past twenty-five years, than the extent to which the later historians have refused to set him down as wholly base, or hypocritical, while fully recognizing those elements in his make-up and career which deserve such a characterization.¹

¹A case in point is the American statesman, Gouverneur Morris, concerning whom President Roosevelt, in his interesting life of Morris, has acutely remarked, (p. 361):—"There are, however, very few of our statesmen whose characters can be painted in simple, uniform colors." . . . "Nor is Morris one of these few. His place is alongside of men like Madison, Samuel Adams, and Patrick Henry, who did the nation great service at times, but each of whom, at some one or two critical junctures ranged himself with the forces of disorder."

Another instance, (which is equally striking, partly because it belongs in a wholly different region, so far as the sympathies and prejudices of those who read history in a partisan way are concerned), is that of Mary, Queen of Scots. It is a fact of no little significance, that, the more recent the publication of a book on this subject, the more likely it is to be a non-partisan and judicial study of her career and qualities, doing full justice to the counts both for and against her. One of the latest of these studies, that of Mr. Andrew Lang, ("The mystery of Mary Stuart"), published in 1904, is noteworthy from the fact that the author has, in at least one instance, (where the genuineness of a letter is disputed), actually put himself in the place of the accused, and has tried to see what kind of a letter one would necessarily write under the given conditions.

And yet, instructive as this instance of Mary, Queen of Scots is, in the way of illustrating non-partisan treatment, it is discouragingly instructive in the light which it sheds on the question whether,—to fall back on another familiar aphorism,—“Time does really bring all things to light.” Mary Stuart has now been dead more than three hundred and twenty-five years, and yet are we in a position to say that we know the absolute truth in regard to the disputed points in her career? One might almost accuse her biographer, Chalmers, of undue optimism in the use which he has made (in its English translation), of the Latin aphorism, “*Veritas filia temporis.*”¹

What has been said thus far naturally serves to emphasize the fact that extreme discrimination is necessary, on the part of the historian whose point of view is the judicial one. He is not permitted to assume, without verification, the

¹“Just who is responsible for the very questionable Latinity of this phrase, (an English translation of which is placed on the reverse of the title-page of vol. 1, in the English edition of Chalmers, and on the title-page itself in the American reprint), is not clear. It is cited as a proverb from the Spanish, in King’s Classical and foreign quotations,” p. 554.

impeccable character of any body of so-called evidence, no matter how prepossessing may be its antecedents. We have already seen that this remark applies to the question of the use of records and archives. It also applies to the question of first-hand or second-hand testimony,—whether in the field of biography or of history proper.

One may not even conclude too hastily that when we have the testimony of a witness who was himself a participant in the transaction, the exact truth is assured. But the application of this principle to history yields quite as interesting results as in the case of biography. As has been shown above, a historian who writes in another century from that of the historical character who is described, does so at a certain disadvantage; and so does one who writes in another country and using a different language. Still further, even supposing him to be a contemporary of his hero, he may not have been brought into close enough relations with the events described. Imagine, for instance, two works, each of which is entitled "A history of the Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment of Volunteers, in the War of the Rebellion", one of which is written by an officer who served in that regiment, and the other by a man who never went outside of New England during the entire four years of the war. Can any one hesitate for a moment as to which of the two is entitled to credence? And yet, the very sharpness of this contrast, in favor of the actual participant, and his facilities for presenting a narrative which should be accurate, may serve to blind one to the fact that even this position does not and cannot guarantee uttermost accuracy in every detail. This is a lesson which has been learned very gradually, since the close of the American Civil War, and especially since the United States Government has been putting into print the "Official records of the War of the Rebellion", reproducing the exact text of the despatches, reports, orders, and other official papers, on both sides. It was at first thought by

some writers, and very naturally, that here at last was an end of controversy, in view of these official statements; but historians like our associate, Mr. James F. Rhodes,¹ who have been going over this period, (and even more, the military historians, like the late John C. Ropes),² have found it anything but a clear case, or a foregone conclusion. If the question should be, what went on in the "Seven Days' Battles" before Richmond, (June 25-July 1, 1862),³ the conscientious historical student is plunged at once into the examination of a mass of conflicting statements; and the problem is made all the more formidable by the evident absence of any attempt to deceive, on the part of any of the writers,—each one telling the story with utmost sincerity, as it appeared to him, but telling a story which disagrees with almost every other story.

Still,—the reader is inclined to ask,—if we confine our attention to some one detail out of the entire mass, will not the participant then be able to give us an absolutely trustworthy account?

It so happens than an incident of precisely this kind came under my observation several years ago, in conversation with our associate, Mr. William B. Weeden; and it impressed me so strongly, that I asked Mr. Weeden, who had given me the narrative verbally, to write it out for me; and, complying with this request, he has given it to me as follows:

Dear Mr. Foster.

Providence, May 15th, 1896.

The incident, of which we were speaking, occurred in this wise.

At the battle of Gaines' Mills,⁴ I was Chief of Artillery in the First Division of Porter's Fifth Corps. A part of my own Battery under Lieut.

¹Rhodes, James Ford. *History of the United States, from the Compromise of 1850.* New York: Harper & Bros., v. 3-5, pub. 1895, 1899, 1904.

²Ropes, John Codman. *Story of the Civil War.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894, 3 v. See discrepancies cited at p. 293 of v. 2. More than a dozen years before, Mr. Ropes had published "The army under Pope," New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1881.

³As an example of the "Official records" being cited on both sides of a puzzling question, see Rhodes's note on this campaign, ("History of the United States," v. 4, p. 48.)

⁴The battle of Gaines's Mills, (during these same "Seven Days" before Richmond), was fought, June 27-28, 1862.

Buckley was posted with Gen. Martindale's Brigade at a crucial point of our line. The guns were well served and did considerable execution. I went down several times to look after them in a general way. The musketry firing from the enemy was heavy and the pressure of battle was very severe. Once the colors of a rebel regiment charging, were knocked over by a case shot from our guns. Then the firing from both artillery and infantry was so well concentrated, that the enemy could not recover his colors, but they were brought in by our infantry, after he was beaten back.

The Fourth Michigan Regiment was on the right of these guns. This corps had been much associated with us, and we were all very friendly. Talking over the battle next day with some of the officers, they were very cordial in appreciating the handling of our guns. Then they made this astonishing statement. "When you came into the battery and sighted the guns *yourself*, the effect was tremendous". I never once aimed a gun in any action. If I had done so, it would have interfered with the excellent gunners, who served the pieces. These Michigan officers were probably within one hundred feet; certainly they were not two hundred feet away from the guns.

The incident is a fair illustration of the constant tendency of witnesses, to idealize action and innocently to create acts, which they think they see.

Truly yours, Wm. B. WEEDEN.

It is almost startling to reflect how near this myth in embryo came to being embodied, as actual history, in some one of the printed narratives of the war, if Captain Weeden had not been alive to negative it.

It is not strange that, with all the attention which has been paid to this phase of the subject, the suggestion should have arisen that, while there may be a condition of things in which the letter of the narrative is accurate, while it is wholly inaccurate in spirit, there may also be a condition of things in which the reverse is the case. In other words, the letter of the narrative may be inaccurate, but the spirit of it accurate.¹ This claim has been made for various historical writers; and among them, for Thomas Carlyle.

To illustrate the bearing of this suggestion, let us consider an imaginary case, in real life. We will suppose that a

¹The other side of the case is represented in Macaulay's supposition that there might perhaps be "a history in which every particular incident may be true," but which "may on the whole be false." Macaulay's "Critical, historical, and miscellaneous essays," (Am. ed.), Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., v. 1, p. 425.

messenger boy is sent from a drug-store on Boylston Street in Boston, with a bottle of medicine, to a house on Dana Street in Cambridge. The messenger actually does deliver the medicine, but it is first mislaid by the servant, and then, after repeated telephoning to the drug-store for the missing medicine, the servant remembers it, and hands it over. The necessary explanation is then made all around, and the unfortunate messenger boy is completely exonerated, but not until after, in his confusion, he had made,— quite unintentionally,—an extraordinary series of statements of things that were not so. Here is the messenger's statement:

"I went to Copley Square, and when a Harvard Square car came along, I got on, and the clock said a quarter before eleven. There was a lady sat next alongside of me, and so I thought I would ask her about how to find the place. I will tell you what she looked like. She was tall, and she had on a blue dress, and she was holding a muff, and her name was Miss Williams, she said. She took and looked at the name on the parcel, and, said she, 'I can tell you just how to go there, because, don't you see, I live close by there myself.' So at Dana Street the conductor let me off, and there was the house all right, and when I rang the bell there was a man came to the door, and I handed over the parcel to him, and came along back."

This is the messenger's statement. Now what are the facts? Nearly every separate item in the entire list is misstated; for, like some historians, he seemed to have an actual genius for inaccuracy.

The car which he took was not a Harvard Square car but a Mount Auburn car. He took it, not at 10.45, but at 11.45. The lady next to him was dressed, not in blue, but in brown. She was not tall, but rather short. She did, however, carry a muff, as he stated. Her name also was Williams, as he stated, but not "Miss", but "Mrs." It was Dana Street at which he left the car, but it was a maid who answered the door-bell, rather than a man.

But what of it? The essential thing to be noted is, that the messenger actually did deliver the medicine at the right house, in proper season, as he said he did. These other details may have some very slight importance, but

they do not relate to matters in which the purchaser of the medicine felt the slightest interest. So long as he had the medicine, what did it matter to him whether the messenger had come over in a Harvard Square or a Mount Auburn car?

Now this entirely imaginary instance finds a close parallel in a somewhat well known passage of French history. It is that section¹ of Carlyle's extraordinary work on "The French Revolution" in which the royal flight is narrated. On the 21st of June, 1791, Louis XVI, the Queen, and the entire royal family, made their escape from Paris. The whole distance which they traversed was about one hundred and fifty miles,² namely, from Paris to Varennes, a small town in the East of France. Of this piece of description, Professor H. Morse Stephens says: "This narrative is so vivid that the very wheels of the yellow berline in which the royal family travelled may be almost heard upon the roads of France."³ Since the suggestion had often been made that this narrative was apparently incorrect in detail, it occurred to an accomplished English historical scholar, Mr. Oscar Browning, to make as thorough an examination of this narrative as possible. This he did, about twenty years ago, (in fact traversing a large portion of the route personally, in a tricycle,—namely, the portion from Chalons to Varennes,⁴—apparently, in the autumn of 1885.) The result is embodied in his volume, "The flight to Varennes, and other historical essays."⁵

His conclusions are thus summed up: The reader, he says, "will discover that almost every detail is inexact, some of them quite wrong and misleading. This is the danger of the picturesque school of historians. They will be picturesque at any price."⁶ Carlyle places the distance

¹Namely, "Book IV, Varennes."

²Browning, Oscar. "Flight (The) to Varennes, and other historical essays." London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1892, p. 15.

³"Counsel upon the reading of books" p. 91.

⁴A distance of forty-nine miles.

⁵Browning's "Flight to Varennes," p. 1-76.

⁶Browning's "Ibid."¹ p. 76.

at sixty-nine miles instead of one hundred and fifty.¹ He describes the streets by which they left Paris, giving a wholly incorrect route.² He miscalculates the speed of their carriage.³ He mistranslates from the French,⁴ as to the costume of one of the characters.

The curious fact is that Mr. Browning, after having made this very skilful exposé, remarks that Carlyle's narrative "in its broad outlines is consistent with the truth."⁵ Possibly this is so, and yet if this principle were to be taken as of universal application, the result would be plainly misleading. In other words, there is one important difference between the case of the messenger boy and the case of the historian. The druggist who had sent the boy may be conceived of as placing too confident a reliance on the proverbial expressions, "Falsus in uno—falsus in omnibus," and the like. He may therefore, after detecting the messenger in saying that he took a Harvard Square car when he should have said a Mount Auburn car, continue to urge; "You have been false in one thing. You have therefore been false in all. I will not believe that you delivered the package." And in thus urging he would have been plainly in the wrong. But the essential thing to remember is that it is the business of the messenger to deliver the package, and he did it. It is the business of the historian to tell a straight story. Does he do it?

Let us return once more to the conception of history as written from a judicial point of view, (as above indicated), and imagine a judge whose duty it is to listen to all kinds of evidence. So far as the judge himself is concerned, it is plainly his business to hear everything, but not necessarily to believe everything that he hears. The arguments brought forward by counsel with fluent tongues are spoken in the hearing of the jury, the spectators, and the public

¹Browning's "Flight to Varennes," p. 15.

²Ibid., p. 60-61.

³Ibid., p. 16-17.

⁴Ibid., p. 70.

⁵Ibid., p. 52.

generally; and in them the ingenious orator will often find a soil quite favorable to the growth of the ideas which he fain would sow. Not so, however, with the "stony ground" represented by the judge, in many instances. Let us suppose, for example, that the judge, before taking his seat on the bench, had been eminent as a corporation counsel, knowing corporation law down to his finger-ends. Not long after he has taken his seat on the bench, a case is heard before him, which is from beginning to end a question of corporation law; and it requires but little effort for the judge to see which side has the right of it. It so happens, however, that this is the side which has the weaker counsel; and the judge consequently is in a position where his mental comments, from beginning to end, in regard to that side of the suit which in reality has the stronger case, are such as these: "What absurdity!" "The worst I ever heard!" "To expect any one to listen to that!" "A child only ten years old would know better!" And yet, this judge, because he has a judicial mind, is not swept off his feet, and made to believe the opposite of the truth, by the mere accident of the best counsel being on the wrong side. But, on the other hand, the general public is quite liable to be swept off its feet, in this way. The American public, in particular, dearly loves a brilliant debater, and, even if convinced, down deep in its heart, of the truth of the opposite side, is not above yielding itself up, mind and soul, to the "taking" argument.

In this particular, as in so many others indicated above, it is the historian's duty to exercise discrimination, and a critical judgment. It will sometimes be the case, in going through a considerable mass of publications dealing with a given subject, that he will say, mentally:—"Yes. I see what the data are, which you are dealing with, but I do not draw the same conclusions from them that you do." It is here that a broad and generous equipment is of special service to a historian; for, if he should not approach the

subject with the same signal advantage that the judge had, who comes to the hearing of a corporation case after having made corporation law his specialty when a practising attorney, he will sorely need the unerring insight and the firm grip on underlying principles which will compensate for the absence of any previous experience.

UNFAVORABLE ASPECTS OF THE "SCIENTIFIC SIDE."

Like the literary side, the scientific side also has "the defects of its qualities". A very fundamental one is concerned with the very phraseology which is used. It is claimed, for instance, that there can be no "science of history", properly so called, because there can be no absolute prediction. This is forcibly stated by Goldwin Smith in one of his recent addresses, as follows:

"The crown of science is prediction. Were history a science, it would enable us to predict events. It is needless to say that the forecast of even the most sagacious of public men is often totally at fault with regard to the immediate future. On the brink of the great Revolutionary wars Pitt looked forward with confidence to a long continuance of peace. Palmerston, if he was rightly reported, deemed the cause of German unification hopeless at the moment when Bismarck was coming on the scene and unification was at hand."¹

The fundamental reason, of course, for this limitation, is the human factor, connected as it is, with the problem of free will. This is by no means a new subject. In fact, the very writer who has just been quoted,—Goldwin Smith,—was lecturing on this problem at Oxford more than forty years ago.² In this problem, however, there are two somewhat distinct phases. The first one is connected with the familiar question of "necessitarianism" according to which man is conceived of as "an automaton". On this, in particular, Goldwin Smith has expressed himself in a very suggestive way, as follows:

¹American Historical Review, v. 10, p. 514.

²"Lectures on the study of history, delivered in Oxford, 1850-51." New York: Harper & Bros., 1875. Another early discussion of the subject by Goldwin Smith is his lecture on "The study of history," delivered at Cornell University, in 1869, printed in the Atlantic Monthly, Jan. 1870, v. 25, p. 44-56.

"In habitual and commonplace actions we are not conscious of the volition unless our attention is specially called to it." "But always," he adds, there are "two elements" present,—the "volition," on the one hand, and "the antecedents or motive," on the other hand; "and upon the presence of the volition depend our retrospective judgments on our own actions and our judgments on the actions of our neighbors." * * * "Huxley, biased by physical science," (says Mr. Smith), "took at one time the extreme necessarian view. But if I mistake not, he had latterly ceased to feel so sure that man was an automaton which had automatically fancied itself a free agent but had automatically come back to the belief that it was an automaton."¹

The other phase of the subject is connected with the fact that no room is left for individuality. Most teachers find it an impressive fact that, with all the effort to plan our systems of education on a general scale, there are continually found individual instances for whose peculiar needs no direct provision has been made. The problem is a perplexing one, for it is not always possible to command the resources for an individual treatment of the individual child. If not, the child, by some form of repression, is smoothed down, so to speak, (or rather, crowded down), to the general level. Nor is this experience confined to children. More and more, as our present-day tendencies to consolidation and uniformity develop, the individual everywhere feels the pressure of what the poet has called "the world's rough hand."

It need hardly be added that in this respect the usage of society is closely in accordance with that which Tennyson, in "In Memoriam", has attributed to Nature herself:

"So careful of the type she seems,
So careless of the single life."²

An even more subtle application of this principle lies in the interpretation of motive. "Judge not, that ye be not judged", is still sound doctrine, as it was twenty centuries ago; and yet judges on the bench, and judicial historians everywhere, as well, are constantly obliged to pass judg-

¹American Historical Review, v. 10, p. 512.

²Section 55.

ment, as to the motives which probably led to the actions in question. Since this is inevitable, perhaps the most that can be hoped for is that they shall invariably recognize that "the exceptions," as well as "the rule," are sometimes to be reckoned with. There are few men who have lived in this world for many years with a fairly observing habit of mind who have not been forced to take note, time after time, that it is the unexpected that has happened. Even from the point of view of simple mathematics, this is by no means incomprehensible. Let us say of some occurrence, as, for instance, the passing of a St. Bernard dog, in the crowded throng which surges past the corner of Broadway and Canal Street, in New York, that the probability, or chance, is only as one in ten. Very well then. Even in that case, some dog must be this one in ten. Or suppose it is only one man in twenty who stands six feet in height. Even then some one must be that twentieth man. It is no more strange that you should be the one than that some one else should be.

The influence of this same indisposition to conceive of the "exceptional instance" is felt also in ethical fields. Given, a historical character to be studied and analyzed, whose associates and whole environment were obviously characterized by low moral standards. In that case it is only by a distinct effort of mind, that we are prevented from concluding, off hand, that the person in question was swayed by the same low motives. Nevertheless, this kind of "snap judgment" cannot be regarded as either just or sane. Let us apply the principle to our case. The future student of social conditions in the years 1900 to 1906, in this country, will perhaps be impressed by nothing more strongly than this, that in these years "graft" was wide-spread, and pervasive. Let us suppose, then, that the student, in unearthing various papers, comes upon the existence of you or of me, and sets us down as tarred with the "graft" taint, because of our living in this age. Would

anyone enjoy this prospect? Indeed, one does not always have to wait for the "snap judgment" of posterity in such a matter as this, for it is not unheard of to find the "contemporary judgment", expressed somewhat as follows: "Well, *every man has his price.*" In this way, the matter may perhaps best be brought home to us, so as to lead us to appreciate the rights of the minority, (the "twentieth man", so to speak), to a square deal, or, in other words, to a fair judgment, on an independent basis.

Great is the wisdom of "Poor Richard," and it has great merits, as summing up the condensed thought of the majority of men. And yet this "proverbial" wisdom of the centuries may sometimes be a tyrannous judgment. With the fable of the fox and the "sour grapes" ringing in his ears, not only has an individual sometimes been compelled to take his appointed course in the face of almost certain misconstruction, but nations also have been compelled to do the same. A historian who has occasion to record the struggles of small nations with great ones will do well to look carefully into this phenomenon.

There is another bearing of the scientific view of history which demands our attention,—namely, the fragmentary and unsatisfactory nature of a large portion of the "materials of history". Mr. Firth for instance, who has already been quoted above, remarks: "Often the really conclusive document is missing; we know that something happened, but the piece of evidence which would explain why it happened is non-existent, and the precise significance of the fact becomes a matter for inference or conjecture. Sometimes a whole series of documents dealing with a particular episode has perished by accident or design, and shreds or patches of evidence must be collected from different sources to supply its absence."¹

Again, it seems probable that an extreme view of the scientific treatment of history may tend to defeat its own

¹Firth's "A plea for the historical teaching of history." p. 10-11.

purpose. In other words, while the primary purpose of science is practical,—the adaptation of means to ends,—the treatment may be so conducted as to lead to no end. Here, for instance, is the uncompromising statement of the purpose of the scientific school of history, as found in the pages of one of its latest advocates,—Professor Bury, of the University of Cambridge:—

“The gathering of materials bearing upon minute local events, the collation of MSS. and the registry of their small variations, the patient drudgery in archives of states and municipalities, all the microscopic research that is carried on by armies of toiling students—it may seem like the bearing of mortar and brick to the site of a building which has hardly been begun, of whose plan the labourers know little. This work, the hewing of wood and the drawing of water, has to be done in faith—in the faith that a complete assemblage of the smallest facts of human history will tell in the end. The labour is performed for posterity—for remote posterity; and when, with intelligible scepticism, someone asks the use of the accumulation of statistics, the publication of trivial records, the labour expended on minute criticism, the true answer is: ‘That is not so much our business as the business of future generations. We are heaping up material and arranging it, according to the best methods we know; if we draw what conclusions we can for the satisfaction of our own generation, we can never forget that our work is to be used by future ages. It is intended for those who follow us rather than for ourselves, and much less for our grand-children than for generations very remote’ ”¹

While there is something very noble in all this work of self-abnegation, yet it must be admitted that it is sadly destitute of the hope of an assured fruition. As Mr. Trevelyan has forcibly put it, in his trenchant comment on Mr. Bury’s address: “The readers of books will pass by, ignorant of the hidden treasure, till, after long centuries of toilsome and useless accumulation, the unwieldy and neglected mass at length perishes, like the unopened books of the Sibyl.”²

It is significant that all of the various dissentients from the ultra-scientific view of Mr. Bury, (including

¹Bury’s “Inaugural lecture,” 1903, p. 31-32.

²“The latest view of history,” by George Macaulay Trevelyan, in *Independent Review*, London, reprinted in *Living Age*, v. 240, p. 197.

Butcher,¹ Trevelyan, Falkiner,² Firth,³ and others), ascribe the difficulty and the danger above referred to, to the deliberate elimination of style from the narrative. And they consequently regard the restoration of style,—or, at least, of life, of vitality, of something intimately concerned with the passion and movement of human life,—as being the most promising way out of the difficulty.

Frederic Harrison also puts the case very lucidly:—

"There is more to be said for literary form in historical composition than the present generation is wont to allow. Abstracts of complicated documents with abundant archaeological setting do not need any literary form, [nor can they endure such setting any more than grammars, dictionaries, or catalogues of microscopic entozoa. But all compilations of original research not fused into the form of art, remain merely the text-books of the special student and are closed to the general public. They have a purely esoteric value for the few, however profound be their learning, however brilliant the discoveries they set forth. Perhaps no historian in this century has exercised a more creative force over modern research than Savigny; but his great historical work is a closed book to the general public as much as is his purely legal work. Now, it is the public which history must reach, modify, and instruct, if it is to rise to the level of humane science and be more than pedantic antiquarianism. And nothing can reach the public as history, unless it be organic and proportioned in structure, impressive by its epic form, and instinct with the magic of life.

The colossal monuments compiled by Muratori, Pertz, and Migne are invaluable to the scholar, and so are *Catalogues of the Fixed Stars* to the astronomer, or the *Nautical Almanac* to the seaman. But to any but professed students of special subjects, the only real kind of history is a reduced miniature of the vast area of actual events, in such just proportion as to leave on the mind a true and memorable picture. A real history (and of a real history, the *Decline and Fall* is, at least in literary conception and plan, the ideal type) must be so artfully balanced in its proportion that a true impression of the crucial events and dominant personalities is forced into the reader's brain. It has to be what

¹Butcher, Samuel Henry. *Harvard lectures on Greek subjects*, London: 1904. p. 251-52. "We cannot lightly accept the suggestion," says Mr. Butcher, "that history should emancipate herself from literature." Page 251.

²Falkiner, C. Litton. Literature and history. *Monthly Review*, London, reprinted in *Living Age*, June 4, 1904, v. 241, p. 621-28. "If the whole workshop of historical research is not to become a vast lumber-room, it is time that some at least among the leaders of English historical learning should recognise the saving grace of style as the great antiseptic not only of literature but of history." (Page 627.)

³Among other articles, should be cited a very trenchant article in the *New York Evening Post*, Dec. 19, 1903.

See also Mr. Firth's "Plea for the historical teaching of history," above cited.

a scientific globe or map is to our earth—a true copy reduced to accurate proportion and of dimensions measurable by the ordinary eye. Truth of proportion is far more essential than any accuracy of detail. Falsity of proportion is a blunder far more misleading than any meagreness of local definition. To confuse the observer with a wilderness of details, and still more to mislead him by falsifying the relative nature of men and of things—this is to make a caricature, not a picture, a fancy sketch not a chart. It will be as fatal to the reader as Ptolemaic maps were to the early navigators. A history wherein the pursuit of trivial facts is carried to confusion, and where the sense of faithful proportion is ruined by antiquarian curiosity, is little more than a comic photograph as taken in a distorted lens. The details may be accurate, curious, and inexhaustible; but the general effect is that of preposterous inversion. We learn nothing by the process. We are wearied and puzzled.”

Under the head of the scientific historian, as well as the literary historian, we may learn from a specific instance. The late Edward A. Freeman was a notable example of the virtues, and the limitations as well, of this view of the matter. Mr. Freeman was a scholar of exceptional erudition and of minute and precise knowledge in his own fields. Although his work was based more largely on printed materials than on unpublished documents, his industry was extraordinary, and his research untiring. His remarkable equipment, however, did not save him from serious error, nor from well-founded charges of inaccuracy.² Nor can it be said that his mental equipment was an ideal one for a historian. Besides his tendency to iteration, already referred to in these pages,³ he had an imperfect sense of historical perspective.⁴ Still more serious was the very evident prejudice which repeatedly disfigures his pages,—a defect which is even more marked in a “scientific historian” than in a “literary historian.” In controversial writing, he invariably appears at his worst, and sometimes

¹Harrison’s “Tennyson, Ruskin, and Mill,” etc., p. 222-23.

²As a typical instance, see the exhaustive article by J. H. Round, on “Mr. Freeman and the battle of Hastings,” in the English Historical Review, April, 1894, v. 9, p. 209-60. Compare also Paul’s “Froude,” p. 171-84.

³Pages 370-71.

⁴“Freeman,” says Frederic Harrison, “was an indefatigable inquirer into early records, but he muddled away his sense of proportion.” (“The meaning of history,” p. 135.)

seems to have parted company with all sense of candor or fairness, as when making Mr. Froude a target for every variety of attack.¹ By the irony of fate, this very excess of violence on Mr. Freeman's part has in the last few months been turned by more than one reviewer to Mr. Froude's credit. While Mr. Froude by himself offers much that is vulnerable to the critic, a comparison² of Froude with Freeman is often greatly to the advantage of the former. In spite of all his limitations, Mr. Freeman has rendered enormous service, not only by his historical narratives, but by his discussion of underlying historical principles; and his volume on "The methods of historical study" cannot be safely neglected by any one who takes up the study of history.³

THE ESSENTIALS SUMMARIZED.

Briefly summing up the principles of historical narration, the ideal historian, it will be seen, must unite the somewhat varied and opposite qualities above indicated. He must be at once accustomed to use his imagination, following it, however, by rigid verification, and also accustomed to sift all facts from a judicial point of view. He must see that his narrative possesses proportion and historical perspective, while, at the same time, he aims at historic detachment.

THE QUESTION OF "MATERIALS FOR HISTORY."

In a rapid summary of those points which belong to the ideal conception of history, it is plain that the judicial

¹"Mr. Freeman," says Andrew Lang, "actually objects to the copious use made of the new materials" [by Mr. Froude] "as 'often utterly wearisome!' He even speaks as if the dates of despatches were unimportant." (Cornhill Magazine, Feb., 1908, v. 92, p. 261-62.) For a reference to the discussion, (disastrous to Mr. Freeman), in 1879, see Paul's "Froude," p. 182-84.

²See p. 379 of this paper.

³Although published eight years ago, the most judicial of the attempts at summing up the work of these two great men, Froude and Freeman, is that of Mr. Frederic Harrison. He published in the Nineteenth Century, Sept., 1898, his careful study of "The historical method of J. A. Froude, (v. 44, p. 372-85); and in the same journal, Nov., 1898, "The historical method of Professor Freeman," (v. 44, p. 791-806). These papers are reprinted at p. 221-67 of his volume, "Tennyson, Ruskin, Mill and other literary estimates." (1900).

point of view is "*the point of view*" in history, pre-eminently.

And yet when we are confronted with the immense mass of material under any given historical topic, and recognize how small a percentage of the whole has any right to bear the epithet "judicial," we may be for the moment puzzled. Only for a moment, however, because we can, (still following the analogy of the court of law), describe all of this less acceptable portion as "materials for history." In just this same way, all the papers which are introduced in connection with the trial of a case in court are materials for the final decision, including the documents of various kinds, the correspondence, the stenographic report of the testimony, and the pleas made by the counsel. In the domain of history, as has been noticed, we have not only the documents and correspondence, but also the "annals," painfully compiled by rude and unpractised hands, and also the various "pleas," (more or less consciously partisan) known as "memoirs," "vindications," "apologies," etc. These occupy the field until the coming of some historical work which shall sum up the substance of them all, presenting in an adequate manner what they expressed only inadequately.

As in all questions of "names and things," discrimination in this matter is usually difficult and sometimes dangerous. We shall be content, in ordinary conversation, at least, to adopt the conventional designation, "historian", as applying to the writers of all alike, rather than assume a pedantic attitude,—just as one does not quarrel with the census enumerator who, with unconscious humor, perhaps, would affix the same label, "pianist", alike to Paderewski, and to some half-fledged pounder of the keys who rents an office for instructing pupils.

Nor must we forget that some of these "memoirs" which fall short most flagrantly, of the judicial standard,—and indeed because of thus falling short of it,—have a value of

their own as "human documents." So unrestrained, so genuine, so natural, so lifelike, is their picture of the event or period, that one's heart almost goes out to them in reading them.

Our own literature, fortunately, is full of these biographies, and autobiographical memoirs, whose very charm is in their subjective character, and their freedom from self-consciousness.

Othello's last injunction to his two friends ran thus:—

"When you shall these unlucky deeds relate,
Speak of me as I am; nothing extenuate,
Nor set down aught in malice."

And when, says Agnes Repplier, he thus implored them, "he offered the best and most comprehensive advice which the great race of biographers and memoir writers have ever listened to and discarded." She adds: "For half truths", "those broken utterances which come bubbling up the well from the great unloved goddess whom we all unite in holding below the water, there are no such mediums as the memoir and the biography."¹²

It is evident that the impulse to find enjoyment as well as information in the mass of historical literature which the world has seen gradually accumulating, is a deep-seated one. But so also is the impulse to find in it instruction,—wisdom, guidance, a lesson for the future. That there is risk, not to say peril, in such a tendency as this, no one who has made himself familiar with the scientific point of view in history can for a moment doubt. For example, one feels like asking: "If history "teaches", what does it teach,—and how?" "How can one be assured of the correctness of the supposed lessons, or inferences?" Assuredly, the pages of history are full of erroneous inferences. Doubtless also there have been many instances of "disputed" inferences. To this day, there are two different schools

¹²Shakespeare's "Othello," Act. 5, scene 2, lines 414-16.

"Counsel upon the reading of books," p. 97-98.

of interpretation, so far as the "lessons" of the French Revolution are concerned; and each of the opposite schools is quite sure that the other is alarmingly wrong.

Perhaps a question which goes to the root of the matter is this;—"Should the lesson be an explicit one, or merely implicit?" Should it be driven in,—almost "rubbed in", one might say,—or should it be left there to be discovered by any reader who is in possession of his reasoning powers?

The sober second thought will point to the latter.¹

ALTERNATIONS OF OPINION AS TO THE POINT OF VIEW.

No one who examines critically the body of historical literature from century to century,—and from decade to decade,—can fail to be impressed by the extent to which it has reflected the tendencies of the time. A writer who should have published his history in the early part of the Nineteenth Century could hardly fail to be influenced by the theories of natural rights, which were universally discussed at that period. Likewise, one who wrote during the later years of that century would necessarily be influenced, and most profoundly, by the doctrine of evolution.

But there are also tendencies to be observed,—or rather violent oscillations from one extreme to the other,—so far

¹An analogous question is that which relates to "ethical values in history." One view, (namely, that the historian should take account of these data), is held by Mr. Goldwin Smith and Lord Acton.

"The treatment of history," by Goldwin Smith, (President's address to the American Historical Association, Dec. 28. 1904), *American Historical Review*, April, 1905, v. 10, p. 511-20.

"A lecture on the study of history," (inaugural lecture at the University of Cambridge, June 11, 1895), by Lord Acton, London: Macmillan & Co., 1895, p. 68-73.

On the contrary, Mr. Lea and the late Bishop Creighton hold that history should be little more than a photograph of what took place, not considering whether it ought to have taken place.

"Ethical values in history," by Henry Charles Lea, (President's address to the American Historical Association, Dec. 29, 1903), *American Historical Review*, Jan., 1904, v. 9, p. 233-46. A somewhat kindred subject is treated in the "President's address in 1905, by John B. McMaster, on "Old standards of public morals," *American Historical Review*, April, 1906, v. 11, p. 515-28.

"Historical ethics," by the Rt. Rev. Mandell Creighton, late Bishop of London, printed posthumously, (under the direction of his widow), in the *Quarterly Review*, July, 1905, v. 203, p. 32-46. (Reprinted in the *Living Age*, Aug. 26, 1905, v. 246, p. 515-24; and in the *Churchman*, Sept. 9, 1906, v. 92, p. 384-85).

as regards the holding of one or another of the two views of history, considered above. At one time, the pendulum swings towards the literary view of the subject. At another time, it swings far in the other direction, towards the scientific view. One needs scarcely to raise the question as to which of the two views is now in the ascendant. In fact, there has seldom been a time when the pressure has been so emphatically in favor of the scientific view. So completely is this tendency in control, that more than one scholar has raised his voice in lamentation at the passing of the literary standard and literary point of view,¹ apparently fearful that these may be crowded off the scene altogether. That there has been, says a recent writer, "a decline in historical writing, as judged by the canons of great literature, some might possibly deny, but the most of us would readily concede." * * * With the great works of history, those "produced during the last quarter-century, while almost legion in number, are in but very few cases even comparable as pieces of literary art. They may be and without doubt frequently are, better histories, but they are certainly not so good literature".²

It is quite likely that the true state of the case does not call for extreme concern or anxiety. Not to speak of the fact that the swinging of the pendulum can almost always be relied on to correct a tendency which runs to an extreme, it is to be remembered that there was really very much from which an extreme reaction was needed, in the vogue which has been enjoyed, in the past, by varieties of historical writings which were superficial in treatment, partisan in tone, and prejudiced in motive. It must also be remembered that the present and recent emphasis on the scientific point of view was really nothing more than natural, in view of the profound influence of the doctrine of evolu-

¹It is not always from this precise point of view that the subject is considered. There is a very thoughtful article on "History and materialism," by Alfred H. Lloyd, in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1905, v. 10, p. 727-50.

²F. A. Ogg, in the *Dial*, April 1, 1902, v. 32, p. 233.

tion¹ on all fields of Nineteenth Century thought.² Still further, it should be borne in mind that we are just now in possession of great masses of hitherto unused historical materials, in the record offices and archives of almost every civilized nation, calling for the application of scientific methods to reduce it to order and system. Until more of an impression has been made upon this undigested mass than has as yet been made, we are scarcely likely to see the domination of the scientific view very materially diminished.

There is one final reflection which claims our attention. There are duties in regard to historical narratives which concern the reader of history, as well as the writer of history. Let us return for a moment to the analogy of the court of justice, above referred to. Of those who deal with the evidence brought into court, we have already named the counsel. In accordance with what is expected of him, he presents his case, in the style of an advocate, and an extremist. The second to be noticed is the judge, who tries the case, and seriously, carefully, logically, arrives at his conclusion. But, lastly, there is the jury. We sometimes speak of "the verdicts of history"; but verdicts are rendered, not by the judge, but by the jury.

¹The doctrine of evolution indeed has had, upon this whole subject of historical interpretation, an influence not even yet fully comprehended in this country. In Germany, the revolution which has been going on during the last quarter-century, as to historical method, has represented a conflict between the positions taken by Ranke and those taken by Lamprecht. "The new history," says a writer in the American Historical Review,—"and here lies its really fundamental feature—holds to the principle of describing the human past from the point of view of rational evolution." He adds that it asks not "Wie ist es eigentlich gewesen?" (as Ranke did), but rather "Wie ist es eigentlich geworden?" (Article by Earle W. Dow, "Features of the new history," in American Historical Review, April, 1898, v. 3, p. 448.) A very enlightening view of Lamprecht's relation to recent historical discussion in Germany is to be had from W. E. Dodd's article, "Karl Lamprecht and Kulturgegeschichte," in Popular Science Monthly, Sept., 1903, v. 63, p. 418-24. See also the reviews of Lamprecht's "Deutsche Geschichte," by James Tait, in the English Historical Review, July, 1892, v. 7, p. 547-50, and Oct., 1893, v. 8, p. 748-50. Also the review of his "What is history?", (by "A. G."), in the English Historical Review, July, 1905, v. 20, p. 604.

²"To trace causes and effects" says Mr. William R. Thayer, "had long been their purpose," [i. e., that of the historians]; "now they saw that the principle of growth or development, was itself the very rudder of causation." ("Proceedings" of the Massachusetts Historical Society, May 11, 1905, at p. 280 of v. 19, of the 2d series.)

If the jury is not enlightened, and is perverse or prejudiced, the case receives a serious setback,—at least temporarily.

If now we apply the analogy to the field of historical writing, we may assume that the counsel is represented by the average historical writer, usually prejudiced and uncritical. The judge is represented by the exceptional or judicial historian, sound in judgment, sane in tone, and fully able to sum up the case in a comprehensive manner. But, in the last place, the jury is represented by the great public, in all civilized countries, among whom something analogous to "public sentiment" makes itself manifest, and is modified, more or less profoundly, from decade to decade. Since, therefore, it is the business of some to write history, soberly, it likewise falls to the lot of others to read history, sanely.¹

¹One of the latest additions to the literature of historical method is the 2d volume of the proceedings of the "Congress of arts and science—Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904," edited by Howard J. Rogers, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., 1906. At p. 1-182 of this volume, under the sub-heading, "Historical science," are valuable papers by Woodrow Wilson, William M. Sloane, James H. Robinson, Karl Lamprecht, and John B. Bury.

Throughout the foot-notes to the foregoing paper, the aim has been to cite the references in a somewhat detailed form, as an aid to the bibliographical study of the subject. The writer has received much valuable assistance from Miss Mabel E. Emerson, of the Reference Department of the Providence Public Library, in connection with the bibliographical citations. As already stated above, Mr. J. I. Wyer, Jr.'s "Bibliography," at p. 559-612 of v. 1 of the "Annual report" of the American Historical Association, for 1899, is invaluable, for the material published up to that year.

NOTE.

Prof. ANSON D. MORSE of Amherst has found it impossible to get ready for publication his paper "The Principles of Thomas Jefferson," which he read at the April meeting. It will appear in a later number of the Proceedings.

For Committee of Publication,

**NATHANIEL PAINÉ,
CHARLES A. CHASE.**

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